

THE  
Secret History  
OF  
EUROPE.

PART II.

*Treating of the following Particulars.*

Of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Reception at the *Hague* by the *States*, and the Prince of *Orange*; and of his Enterprize afterwards in *England*.

Remarks on Father *ORLEANS's* History of the *Revolution*.

Of the *French* King's Personal Hatred to King *WILLIAM*.

Some Transactions preceeding the *Revolution*, in *Holland* and *England*, with a short Account of its Progress and Accomplishment. Shewing that it was intirely owing to *High Church-Men*, and *High Church-Principles*.

The Conduct of a certain *Faction*, immediately Before and After the *Abdication*.

King *James's* Behaviour in *Ireland*; and at *St. Germain's*, proving that he grew worse by his Misfortunes, and that a *Papish* King and *Protestant* Subjects are incompatible.

The Conspiracies form'd by *Passive Obedience* and *Non Resistance*, against the Religion and Liberties of this Kingdom, and the Life of the King, within the Compass of Two or Three Years.

Of the Poisoning the Duke of *Lorrain*, and Others.

The Method of Bribing, us'd by *France* in *England*.

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T H E  
P R E F A C E.

**T**HOU' I have not thought fit to alter the Title of this Part, but to call it still the Secret History of Europe ; yet the Reader will soon perceive it has relation chiefly to England, and was writ with a design to set a Rampant Faction in their True Light : For it is not Argument that will now prevail ; Nonsense has usurp'd the Place of Reason, as Falshood triumphs over Truth. There never was so corrupted an Appetite in the World as reigns now in England ; the most Infamous Lyes, the most detestable Libels, and unparallel'd

## The PREFACE.

*Effronterie are swallow'd with a Greediness that will not be credible to Posterity, if they have any Sense of Shame, and are not as abandon'd to every Thing that's Good as we are.*

*'Tis Pleasant to see some Authors argue with such People, and to pretend to prove that the Revolution was a Resistance, and the keeping King James out of his Throne a Deposing him; that the settling it upon King William and Queen Anne, proves the Crown not to be Indefeasible, &c. nothing can be more merry. 'Tis like proving, that it is Day at Noon, or Cold in a Frost: Wherefore I resolv'd to shew what was done by the Men who talk after this Rate, that they are not more Insolent than they are inconsistent, and that if ever their Principles are try'd, as they were by King James, their Practices will be Proof, that never Poor Nation was so bubbled; and Futurity can think no better of us, than that that we were as Simple as the first Britains though we were not so Innocent.*

*I confess*

## THE PREFACE

I confess I cannot reflect on these Things without a foolish Concern for the Reputation of my Country, which is very Impertinent in a Man of my Station and Interest, especially when there are so many other things of a higher Nature worthy Reflection that we have not room to trouble our selves very much about this.

The Authorities made use of in the following Sheets are unquestionable, as shall be prov'd if ever they are attack'd; but I did not think my self oblig'd to discover the Stores from whence I was supply'd with them. The Prejudice of some, and the Vanity of others, might have hinder'd Part of the Effect they may now produce.

I flatter my self most of the Papers I have consulted are in very few Hand, as I am sure some are in no other: And though some few Facts, as that of the Bishop's Tryal, of Magdalen College, and other such Outrages of King James's Reign have been treated of before; yet it was

## THE PREFACE

*was never done in the same Manner, and with the same View, as will appear by the Reflections, for the sake of which they were told.*

*I desire the Reader to lay as few Press Faults to my Charge as his Patience will admit, being afraid I shall otherwise have too much occasion for his Candour.*

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THE  
Secret History  
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EUROPE, &c.

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PART II.

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**T**HO' I have been very much encourag'd in prosecuting my Design to treat of some Parts of our own History, and the History of *Europe*, with more freedom than others have thought fit to do, and to relate some Matters of Fact which have hitherto been conceal'd, by the kind Reception the First Part met with; yet I should not have been determin'd by it, if I had not before resolv'd to continue my Reflections down to these Times,

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and had not made a good progress in it when that Part was publish'd, which brought the Story to the Reign of King *James II.* I shall begin this with some Observations on that and the *Revolution*, of which 'tis proper at this time to remember as much as we can, that we may do as much to prevent the necessity of another.

There have been great Pains taken to blacken it; it has been call'd a *Rebellion*, and the Glorious Reigns founded upon it so many *Usurpations*. Every thing done since has met with as much Censure, as the Actions of the *Rump* and *Cromwel*, and the Principles that produc'd it are condemn'd as *Republican*. The Church, who was the main Instrument of effecting it, seems to disown it, and those who pretend most Zeal for her, appear to have the least for our Constitution: Which makes it necessary that we should look back and see how different some Men talk now from what they did then; and to shew that it was indeed that very Body of Men who have lately harangu'd so furiously against *Resistance*, who did then incite others to Resist, and Resisted themselves in the most notorious Manner; for Nature, as they have declar'd themselves, will rebel against Principle, and the Farce they have lately play'd, in crying up the *Hereditary Right* and the *Protestant Succession* is not more ridiculous, than their pretending to Loyalty, and condemning the Establishment that set  
so



## Part II. of EUROPE:

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so good a Queen on the Throne, after it had been thirteen Years fill'd by King William, who could have no Right if the Crown was unalienable and indefeazible.

I shall not trouble the Reader with so ungrateful an Entertainment as the Reflections cast on the Memory of that Prince, who deliver'd us from the *worst of Slaveries* as the Reign of King James was term'd by some stanch Churchmen in their Addresses to Him when living. But I shall enquire what were their Practices when that King made the least Step to the Diminution of their Privileges and Revenues. They may argue with as much Nonsense as they please, that *Passive Obedience* is the Doctrine of the Church. Whenever their Interest or Power is toucht, their Tone is soon chang'd, and they are as forward as any to preach up that Liberty, which to serve a present Turn, is reproach'd as Licentious and Dangerous. One would think that *Lesley* had made more Converts than 'tis to be hop'd he has to his Project of reconciling the *British* and *Gallican* Churches. since the Sentiments of some of our Teachers agree so exactly with those of the *French* Jesuits. One of them writing of our Affairs, says, *The English Spirit, always full of the Conceit of their own Liberties, has been fatal to the Kingdom's Peace.* It has always strugled to preserve that Freedom the Nations around them give up to the Will of the Prince: And

this Spirit of theirs, tho' now in so languishing a Condition, will, I trust, appear to the Confusion of all the Enemies of our Government, when there is the same occasion to exert it as there was at the Revolution.

Before I enter upon the Matters that had immediate Relation to the Happy Revolution I have been speaking of, I shall vindicate his late Majesty from the Aspersions cast on him in a *French History of the Revolutions in England*, which was translated into *English* about the time that it came into Fashion to bespatter the Memory of that Glorious King, and that will oblige me to call to Mind some Events prior to it, particularly that of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Invasion, if *England* may be said to be invaded by One hundred and fifty Men, wherein I shall take Notice of some Facts relating to it, not yet known, and others very rarely to be met with, which will all contribute to give us a just Idea of the Spirit by which the Enemies of our Constitution are animated both in their Actions and Writings.

Those who are angry at our Deliverance will never forgive our Deliverer, and they therefore represent him as an Ambitious interested Prince, who having rejected a Sovereignty at Home, which he was courted to accept, came only to fight for one Abroad which he could never have obtain'd, had not the Guilt and Terror of his Predecessor frightened him from



from a Throne, on which he had sat with so much Violence, Oppression and Injustice. In order to this, he privately assisted the Duke of *Monmouth* in his rash Attempt against King *James*, that by removing him out of the Way, he might make his own to the Kingdom. This is so silly, that it would not be worth mentioning, was it not so commonly said and believ'd. True it is, the Prince of *Orange* was very civil to that unfortunate Prince and King *Charles*, who affected a Severity towards the Duke, which disguis'd a tender Affection, took his Nephew's Friendship to his Son very kindly; as may be seen by the Journal in Cyphers found in the Duke of *Monmouth's* Pocket, and printed in Dr. *Welwood's* Memoirs. This Friendship continu'd after the King's Death, but Decency would not suffer the Prince to shew a Respect to a Person who was the profess'd Enemy of his Father-in-law: However, he did his utmost by his Advice and Assistance to prevent the Duke's Misfortunes, and far from putting him upon a mad Enterprize against the new King, he was earnest with him to leave the *Netherlands*, and enter himself into the Emperor's Service, offering him a Supply of Money to fit him for it, and support him in it, which had been a sure means of preserving a Life his Enemies pretend he was jealous of, and instrumental in shortning it, by encouraging him to undertake what he knew would be his Ruin. Besides, none but

Fools can imagine the Prince of *Orange* did not know the *English* Nation better than to apprehend they would accept of a Prince with the Duke of *Monmouth's* Chimerical Title, in preference to himself, who in Right of his Wife the Princess *Mary*, was next in Succession to King *James*.

Popish Writers, who with the Malice inseperable from their Religion, take all occasions to villify his Memory, lay the Scene of the Prince's Views to the Throne as high as the Defection of the Earl of *Shaftsbury* from the Court Party, pretending that Lord, by his Agent *Du Moulin*, flatter'd him with such hopes before he marry'd the Princess; A Match his own good Sense could not but incline him to, to maintain his Interest in *England*, which was not inconsiderable, himself being the next Heir after the two Princesses the Duke of *York's* Daughters, whose Right none ever thought of injuring, when there were so many for excluding the Father. This Calumny is as true as what Father *Orleans* says, that King *Charles* marry'd the Princess *Mary* to the Prince of *Orange*, without the Duke of *York's* Privity, whereas it is well known that the Prince came not to *England*, till the two Royal Brothers had been acquainted with his Design, which the Jesuit declares the Duke did but *mistrust*, and oppos'd it all that in him lay, but was impos'd upon by the Earl of *Danby* and Sir *William Temple*. Than which nothing can be more false,  
for

for the Prince was so far from keeping the Matter secret, that tho' all the World expected he would have enter'd upon the Affair of the Peace, which the *Dutch* had very much at Heart, yet he protested he would not meddle with any Business, till that of the Marriage was adjust'd: That King *Charles* being impatient to have his Compliance in the Terms of that Peace, gave his Consent, and went immediately and procur'd his Brothers, in both whole Presence the Marriage was declar'd in Council. This Priest is not content to wrong the Prince in representing his Marriage to be Clandestine, he affirms, that the Duke of *Monmouth* when he was in *Flanders*, offer'd the Prince of *Orange* to serve him in obtaining the Crown of *England*, which is of equal Credit with what he says of the Parliaments intending to declare the Duke Successor to his Father, if the Exclusion Bill had pass'd. For in all that Debate it is known the only Successor nam'd was the Duke of *York's* Heir, being Protestant, and that was the Princess of *Orange*; nor was the Prince's Council susceptible of such Visionary Projects, had his Highness been capable of a too hasty Ambition, whereas there are a thousand Instances of his Sacrificing his own private Advantages to the Publick Good of Religion and Liberty, as is at large observ'd in the Bishop of *St. Asaph's* Sermon on his Death. *Can all the World besides admire that Probity, that Justice and unblemish'd Honour that adorn'd*

his Life, and we alone be insensible who reap'd the Fruits of them, &c. Could all this Confidence be built but on Experience of his great Discernment and mighty Knowledge how to ballance Powers and most disinterested Integrity and Virtue? Where are the Bargains that he ever struck for his Particular Advantage? What Selfishness has yet appear'd in all his Conduct for more than thirty Years? He might have rais'd his Seat upon his Native Country's Liberties, his very Enemies would have supported him in those Pretences; but he affected no Honours but what were freely offer'd him there, or elsewhere, and if the Hands that reach'd them would have pull'd them back, his Ambition that was only useful, knew how to merit as well as to deserve them. Can these and other his great Qualities (a few of which serve to enoble other Princes) immortalize his Name Abroad, make him the Standard of true Honour and all Royal Vertues and we at Home think meanly of them? No Infamy, I think, could fall upon our Country equal to this Ingratitude, &c. This Character of the late King will serve as an Antidote to all the Poysonous Fictions I may think convenient to repeat after Popish and Factions Writers, to shew by what Spirit they are animated by his who is the Father of Lyes, especially what the Jesuit has said in his History of our Revolutions in England, because he tells us very formally, he had consulted King James himself in the writing it, and it is probable communicated what he had written to him, which makes it necessary to animadvert



a little *en passant* on his History, that it may not be thought the more Sacred, for having the boast of such Authority. The good Usage the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the *English* Refugees met with in *Holland*, in Times of *Popery* and *Persecution*, was what they ought to have expected from a Protestant Prince and State, who were convinc'd that their own Ruin would follow that of the Protestant Interest in *England*. The Prince did indeed, receive the Duke with particular Honours, which was requisite to encourage the Protestant Party in this Kingdom at that time, very near being deprest by the Popish; and in this he was seconded by the States. The Prince considering him as a General who had serv'd with him in the *Netherlands*, order'd his Troops to Salute him at Reviews where he happen'd to be present; at which King *Charles*, who was entirely in the Hands of his Brother, was oblig'd to take Umbrage, the Duke being apparently in Disgrace, and Orders were sent to Mr. *Chudleigh*, then Envoy at the *Hague*, to complain of it; that Minister, who was a Creature of the Duke of *Yorks*, did it in such Offensive Terms, that the Prince could not forbear falling into a Passion, and threatening *Chudleigh* with his Hand, which he might well be provok'd to do, If *Chudleigh*, as it is said, took on him to Command the Officers himself not to pay that Salute for the future, which Insolence in a Court, where the Practice of Arms was so well understood, deserv'd the Re-sentment



sentment it met with ; and King *Charles* was so sensible of it, that he only order'd his Minister to forbear Waiting on the Prince for some time ; whereas had such Indignity as lifting the Hand up been offer'd to his Envoy on any other Occasion, the least he could have done, was to have recall'd him : And his not doing it, confirms the Report that King *Charles's* Conduct towards the Duke of *Monmouth*, at least in the last Months of his Life, was pure Grimace, and that he intended a thorough Reformation of his Court and Ministry, in favour of the Constitution in Church and State, *to make himself easie for the rest of his Life*, as he said himself. His being influenc'd by his Brother in all things, having embroil'd him perpetually with his Subjects, a Condition the more disagreeable to him, in as much as it obstructed his Pleasures, and was an Enemy to that Indolence in which he center'd his Happiness, the Fault of his Nature, and not of his Judgment. I have heard a

\*M. P. n. \* Gentleman, who was very well acquainted with King *Charles's* Court, and a Favourite of King *James's*, declare That the Kings Negligence in Business, was wholly Affectation, and that his leaving it to the Duke his Brother, was purely to throw off the *Odium* of Male-Administration from himself, who in the main lov'd Rule, and was as Obstinate in his Opinion as his Father. If one was to judge by the Capacity of that Prince, something of this kind might be Credible, it being certain  
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his Genius for Government, was much above either his Fathers or his Brothers; but as it was so, he saw plainly it was impossible for him to carry the Point they all aim'd at, *The setting the Regal Authority above the Laws*; and he could not hope without that, to fulfil his Engagements with *France*, in favour of Popery: For that there were such Engagements, is plain from the Facts mention'd in the *First Part* of this *History*; and Father *Orleans* himself puts it out of doubt, intimating, that one of the Principal Ends of the Treaty preceeding the last *Dutch War*, was to procure a *Toleration* for the *Papists*. And to excuse the making that League, He very frankly affirms the *Tripple Alliance* was expir'd, when it is Notorious, the Emperor was at that time Court-ing a Place in it, and the *Dutch* Arming in pursuance of it, and King *Charles* forc'd to send Mr. *Coventry* to *Sweden*, to buy off that Crown with *French Money*, from adhering to it: Enough of which, has been said in the Book before mention'd, and what is hinted here, is only to observe, how much the Truer this Jesuit's History is, for being writ by King *James's* Approbation. The good Father owns, *That the League made in 1670. between the Kings of England and France, was to promote their Designs, and that Madam, the late Dutches of Orleance, concluded it when she went to Dover, to meet her Brother.* He continues, *The Particulars of that Treaty are not for my Purpose, except one Article which relates to*  
Religion

*Religion.* He then gives an Account of the Care taken in it of the Catholics, and so highly extols King James's Zeal, that he confesses the *French King* himself was for more moderate Proposals, as *safest and most seasonable*.

Now considering all this was probably no Secret to a Prince, who had the best Intelligence in the World, was it not Time for the Prince of *Orange*, and the Friends of the Protestant Religion, to look about them, and provide, as well as they could, against the Impending Storm? It is not to be doubted, but he kept a close Correspondence with the Heads of the Protestant Party in *England*. The Duke of *Leeds* in his Letters, shews us how it was carry'd on between the Prince and him before the Marriage, which the *Duke says he will not lose the Glory of*. 'Tis not strange, that the Prince of *Orange*, who was next Heir to the Crown, after the Two Princesses the Duke of *York's* Daughters, should always have an Eye to it; for 'tis acknowledg'd, the Duke would have hinder'd the Marriage, for which he could have no other Reason, but the Prince's being a Protestant; and if that Princess and Her Royal Sister, had been intirely at the disposal of their Father, who can doubt, but the Blessings we have had in their Reigns, had been prevented by his giving them to *Popish Princes*; and in such Case, the Prince of *Orange* would have always had the first Pretension, had there been an *Exclusion of Papists*, which was not impossible.

sible. Tho' it cannot enter into any Honest Man's Heart, that the Prince's Views went farther than to support his Pretensions by much better, those of his Wife. And King *Charles* knew too well, how fond his People were of that Match, to think of any other. Since as to a *Protestant* One, there could not be a more advantageous, and as to a *Popish*, it must have been fatal. It being concluded, the Prince had a very near Concern in every thing that related to *England*; and having an Eye to our Affairs, is what became his Wisdom and his Honour. It was certainly in Him, that all the Hopes of *English* *Protestants* center'd, and none but Madmen had ever any thoughts of making other use of the Duke of *Monmouth*, than as he was Brave and Popular. Besides, the Prince's Friends were not chiefly of those that were engag'd with that Duke, the most Eminent of them, as the Marquiss of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Danby*, Sir *William Temple* being always opposite to him, as well when he was in Favour, as out of it. However, when the Danger was so great, the Prince could not act more prudently, than to be well with all Parties that were Enemies to the *Popish*, and to strengthen his own by the *Protestant* Interest of all Denominations. He knew he would have disoblig'd great Numbers in *England*, had he given up the Duke of *Monmouth* to King *James's* Fury, on his Accession to the Throne. And had he been seiz'd in *Holland*, where there was no Power greater than



than his own, it would have been a hard matter for him to have clear'd himself of Suspicion, that it was done with his Consent. This King *James* knew, and his Council wisely judg'd, he would not be accessary in any wise to it; therefore it was, that Mr. *Skelton*, then Ambassador at the *Hague*, had Orders to attempt to get away the Duke of *Monmouth* privately, which, as Wise Heads as our *English* Counsellors had, was not so manag'd, but the Prince had Notice of it, and would not suffer such a base Piece of Treachery to be acted in his Court. Mr. *Bentinck* acquainted the Duke with the Design form'd against him, and advis'd him to retire to *Brussels*, furnishing him with Money for that Purpose. When he was safe, *Skelton* was permitted to search the Dukes House, and he did it to as much Purpose, as he some time after discover'd the Secret of the *Revolution*, when it was too late to hinder it.

The Jesuit would make us believe, that when afterwards the Duke return'd to *Holland Incognito*, being order'd from *Brussels* by the Governor, the Marquis *Dé Grana*, at the Instance of King *James's* Resident, He was assisted in his Expedition by the Prince of *Orange*, not as the ill Wishers to that Prince reported, to send him to his Destruction, but because the Duke had promis'd to Enthroned the Prince if he succeeded. Is it possible, may the Reader well exclaim, there could ever be an Author so stupid,



as to deliver a Whimsie for Truth, which carries with it such evident Marks of Invention and Calumny. Yet this is the Author who boasts, *He had the Liberty to discourse King James about his History, as long as he could wish.* It is pretended and perhaps not without Reason, that the Majority of the Dukes Council and Followers, were for a Common-Wealth. Can it be suppos'd the Prince was not fully appriz'd of that Disposition of theirs, which would have destroy'd his Pretences? And if it had been possible for 150 Men to have Conquer'd *England*, had hinder'd for ever his Claim taking Effect. Is it likely the Prince could be so weak, as to build upon a Promise of being Enthron'd by an Army of *Republicans*, supposing that Powerful Band had increas'd to as great a Number as was *Wat Tylers*? Yet such are the Visions the Popish Writers amuse their Faction with in *England*. And the good Father very Judiciously and candidly observes, the Prince of *Orange* had a mind to embrace that Opportunity of being Enthron'd by the Duke of *Monmouth*, and therefore let him slip out of some Skulking Port in *Holland*, with three Ships, and one good Company of Men, to beat the *English* Fleet and Army. One cannot conceive, how a Man of Common Sense, could tell the World all this, and yet call in King *James* to vouch for him. Mr. *Skelton*, he says, having by his Vigilance and great Zeal found out that the Duke of *Monmouth* and the other *English* Fugitives, where going some where,  
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he put in a Memorial to desire the *States* to shut up the Ports, which he confesses was done accordingly ; but it seems this *Zealous and Vigilant Man*, had forgot the Port of *Amsterdam*, where the three Ships were fitting, and from whence they sail'd. For he tells us Notice was given them to make use of other Ports, than those mention'd by *Skelton* ; they did so, and Sail'd secretly from the greatest Port not only in these Provinces, but in the whole World.

As I took the Liberty in the former Part of this *Treatise*, to digress sometimes, when by taking a little round, I did not lose my way, so I shall do in this, my Intention being to consider those things, that the Cautions of Men of Interest, may keep from touching with the Freedom they ought. Every one affects a wonderful Delicacy, when they talk of the Endeavours that have been made to preserve our Liberty by extraordinary means. Such I own, as should never be made use of, but when they are of the last Necessity. For my Part, I shall always pay the highest Honour to those that have reasonably asserted it, and not been led away by the Humors, Ambition or Dispair of Great Men. I cannot but impute the Duke of *Monmouth's* Rashness to the latter Motive, believing if he had Ambition enough to have aim'd at a Crown, he was not so weak as to flatter himself he could obtain it, in opposition to King *James*, the Prince of *Orange*, the Church of *Eng-*  
*land.*

land, the wiser part of the Dissenters and all the Lovers of Monarchy in this Kingdom, none of whom were likely to joyn him, when they saw how he was attended, his Followers being mostly Men of Common-Wealth Principles. But they were all desperate as well as himself; *Holland* began to be too hot for him and them, and they had no where else to go to be safe, unless in the Barren Mountains of *Switzerland*, or the Bloody Fields of *Hungary*. They were so vain as to imagine a Nation that had not yet had sufficient Experience of their King, would abandon him purely because he was a *Papist*; not but that he had done some things, even then, which were Illegal and Arbitrary, and gave good Grounds for them to fear what he would do. However, distant Fears are no Warrant for Attempts on the Constitution and Publick Peace; and the Tranquility People found themselves in, on the Death of King *Charles*, which was as Welcome as unexpected, and the King's Promise to stand by the Establish'd Church, made them look over what had been done amiss, and promise themselves better Days for the future; which they thought the Duke of *Monmouth's* coming would interrupt, and those who in King *Charles's* Time, had been of his Party, were weary of following his Misfortunes. Thus, thro' Loyalty, Indifference and Fear, the Nation had generally an Abhorrence for his Undertaking, which increas'd upon his Proclaiming himself King. I have been assur'd by

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Persons who were with him, and in his Confidence, that he never thought of it, till after he Landed, and was put upon it by *Ferguson*, whose Treasonable Practices since, may very well make us suspect he was a Spye on him, and a Secret Agent for the King, whom he could not have serv'd more effectually, than by inciting the Duke to assume a Title to which he had no manner of Pretence. It is certain, he had given his Word to the Earl of *Argyle*, that he would pretend to no more than to act as General of the Forces that should joyn him, against King *James*; and the Malster *Rumbold*, when he was Executed at *Edinburgh*, declar'd it was contrary to all their Expectations, adding, *It was not for a New King that they took Arms, having a better than him already.* But the Malitious Turn the Jesuit gives the Prince of *Oranges's* Zeal on this Occasion, is not worthy the Piety King *James* made appear in his Retirement at *St. Germain's*. He assures us, that the Prince of *Orange*, hearing the Duke of *Monmouth*, had broke his Word with him, and Proclaim'd himself King, immediately dispatch'd Mr. *Bentinck* to King *James*, to offer him his Service, both with his Person and all his Forces. I desire the Reader to mind that this *Historian* wrote by Memoirs from King *James* himself, and I can prove, that it was several Days after the Duke Landed, that he was Proclaim'd King; He staid some time at *Lyme*, and came not to *Taunton* till a Week after he Landed. He was



was not Proclaim'd there till the 20th of June, and about the 15th Mr. *Bentinck* had Audience of the King at *London*, ten Days before the Prince knew any thing of the Duke's assuming that Title, which never enter'd into his Head, till his Evil Counsellors put him upon it. It is natural to believe, that after the Duke had slip't away from *Holland*, and the News that came of his Landing, multiply'd the Assistance he met with there as it did in *London* ten times as much as it was, making 50000 Men of 5000 that the Prince might take the Allarm, and make those Offers to his Father-in-Law, from whom he had nothing to desire, but to have his own Right by his Wife secur'd. However, King *James*, who knew that the Prince of *Orange* could not have any Success in *England*, which would not be prejudicial to the *Papists*, receiv'd those Offers in ill Part, expressing himself, as the Jesuit says, *after such a manner as sufficiently shew'd that Zeal was not Seasonable*, tho' never was Zeal no more in Season, had not Fortune been as Propitious to the King as his Arms. For as desperate as the Duke of *Monmouth's* Enterprize was, as few as his Followers when he Landed in less than a Week, he had an Army with him capable of making the Dispute more hazardous than the King's Friends thought it. The Report of so sudden a Defection, had put all the *Western Countries* in a Ferment, and tho' the Duke's best Friends among the Gentry, as Sir *John Guise*, Mr. *Clark* of *Chipley*, Mr. *Har-*



vey of *Sherburn*, and others were secur'd in the West, yet there were many both in these Parts, and in the North, who were well Wishers to his Cause, as far as it tended only to securing our Religion and Liberties, as the Lord *Brondon*, and the Lord *Delamere*, both of whom it is thought, were under Obligations with him, to exert themselves in that Quarrel; and tho' the latter was so Prudent as not to commit his Designs to Evidence, yet it is believ'd, nothing hinder'd his Declaring himself even at that time, but the Duke's Folly in taking on him the Title of *King*, which was never intended him. The true Lovers of Liberty, saw early what Breaches would be made upon it, by a King of *French* Principles in Religion and Politicks, and were ready on all Occasions, to shew their Zeal for his Exclusion. But they would have been Mad, to have trusted in one who began his Undertaking with falsyfing his Word, and Usurping a Right which was anothers, more worthy of it than himself, had the Possessor forfeited or renounc'd it.

It is our happiness, that the Duke from the Time of his Landing, to that of his Death, did not take one Just Step. The little Store of Arms and Ammunition he had, he sent from *Lyme*, to come about the Lands-End, and meet him at *Bristol*, whether he never went, and his Ship was taken by Captain *Trevanion*. After he had got 7 or 8000 Men together, he broke,

as has been said, his Declaration, and call'd himself King *James III.* a Title which has hitherto furnish'd us with nothing but Pretenders, and may the last have the same Fate, if he has the same Rashness as the first. When he march'd Eastward, he left *Bath* and *Bristol*, which he might easily have master'd, there being a Conspiracy in the latter, to have open'd the Gates to him; and a Ship was set on Fire in the River, to draw the Militia that way, while his Friends admitted him. Instead of this, he was for advancing farther towards the Hills, and this gave the King's Forces an Opportunity to engage him at *Philipsnorton*, where, tho' he had the advantage by his Numbers, it was found his Men were not a Match for Regular Troops, and more ill Council was taken to retreat to the West; upon which the Peasants returning to their Wives and Families, left him, and took hold of the King's Pardon by Hundreds, insomuch that when he Fought, he had not above 4000 Men. His Fighting when he did it, was like the rest of his Conduct; he had sent two of his best Troops of Horse Twenty Miles to fetch Cannon, and would not stay for their return. If they had been in the Engagement to have made Head against the King's Horse, the Issue had been doubtful; for his Foot did Wonders, and fought an Hour after they were abandon'd by his Horse, most of them scarce fit for the Saddle. It is

remember'd in those Parts to this Day, that the Kings Regular Troops were at first put into Disorder by *Monmouth's* raw unexperient'd Men, who wanted nothing but Horse to support their Foot. What would have been the Consequence of his beating the King's Army there, I cannot determine; and perhaps it was a Chance the Prince of *Orange* ought not to have ventur'd; for who knows how far the Extasy of a People deliver'd from Popery, might have carry'd them. And if, as was said, the several Militia Regiments marching from *Surry, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire* and *Gloucestershire*, were as much corrupted as those of *Somersetshire*, if by such Success, People of Condition had been encourag'd to espouse his Quarrel, the King having no more Disciplin'd Troops to oppose him, and Commotions threatning him, even in the City and the Neighbouring Counties, I question whether the Prince of *Orange's* Offers would have been thought *unseasonable*, and whether the Prince's Foresight was not preferable to the Kings, who was in more danger, on account of the uncertainty of Mens Duty to a Prince of a contrary Religion than himself, or his Flatterers apprehended. But Providence reserv'd us for Happier Times, and the Reigns of Two Princesses, Queen *MARY* and Queen *ANNE*, whose Royal Virtues rendred them worthy of that Crown to which they had indeed a *Divine Right*, not owing to their Birth only, but also to the  
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the Affection and Voice of the People, which, tho' at present it lyes under Disgrace, will always be found to be that TITLE which makes a Crown set most easie.

The Duke of *Monmouth's* Expedition was so little countenanc'd by the Nobility and Gentry, was so hasty and unadvise'd, that the Peril he once put King *James* in, was hardly ever thought of, and his whole Enterprize from first to last, is lookt upon as the Frolick of a Madman, tho' whatever it was in the Conception, in the Execution the odds were not at one time very great against him; and had the Battel of *Bridgwater* taken another Turn, which was not impossible, as appear'd by the Dispute it self, the Heads of the People might have turn'd with it. For my part, I cannot see what could have hinder'd his marching to *London*, where he was not so hated as to fear an ill Reception. And it is generally reported, that Coll. *Danvers*, Sir *Robert Peyton* and others, were to have appear'd in Arms in *Epping Forest*, at the Head of 3 or 4000 Horle, privately Lifted for that Service, the very Day that News came of the *Rout* in the West. Had these Designs succeeded, the Kings Resource must have been in the Nobility, who probably would never have suffer'd that Duke to have carry'd his Point by the Rabble, so his Followers would have been Stil'd, whether they could then have prevented it



or not, I shall not be at the Trouble to consider; but from all these Possibilities conclude, that the Prince of *Orange's* Zeal for King *James*, was very Timely and Prudent. For it might have happen'd, that without his Assistance, or that of the *French* King, He might have been in as much Danger as ever he was at *Salisbury*, he having then an Army twice as numerous as the Prince of *Orange's*. And it is not to be doubted he would have receiv'd the Prince's Offers more kindly, had he not always had an Eye to the *French* King. For as sanguine as his Courtiers seem'd to be, they must know he had not the Hearts of his Subjects, and that *Monmouth* had been their Darling. The Love he had lost by Misfortunes and Absence. he would have recover'd by a very little Success, having, as the Prince of *Orange* and all his Enemies acknowledg'd in the words of the Jesuit, a *Warlike Genius*, and knowing more of it than most of those that were sent against him, which would have been no great *Encomium*, had not the Lord *Churchill* been one of them. For to be a better Soldier than the Dukes of *Albemarle* and *Beaufort*, a Man need not have serv'd many Campaigns. It may not be disagreeable to the Reader, to know the Formality the Duke us'd with the King's Commanders, whom he Summon'd to attend him, as particularly the Duke of *Albemarle*, who with a worse Heart, had no better a Head than himself. But it  
was



was a very high Air the Duke of *Monmouth* gave himself, when he sent a Summons to the Lord *Churchil*, now Duke of *Marlborough*, to attend him with the Forces under his Command, requiring him to do it upon his Allegiance. My Lord was then at *Chard*, and had Sir *William Portman's* Militia Regiment, a *Dorsetshire* Regiment, and some Regular Troops with him, with which he harraßt the Duke's Army more than all the rest of the King's Forces, Regular or Militia. As to the Summons, his Lordship sent it to the King for a Jest, and the Trumpeter that brought it return'd muffled as he came, just so much the lighter.

That *Monmouth* was a *Man of mean Parts*, every Body allows, and one can hardly think otherwise of those that embarkt on his Bottom. The ill success of the Attempt answer'd the Design, and whatever Fortune did for him, was more than he ought to have expected. I am the longer on these things, because the Scene where they were acted, is well known to me, as were many of the Persons, though I cannot pretend from my own Memory to report what I saw, being too young to form any Judgement of it, or to distinguish right from wrong. As the Duke began rashly, so he persud and ended his Undertaking. The *Catastrophe* was as absurd as all the rest of it. He ran from *Sedgemoore* with about thirty or forty Horse

Horse *Eastward* into the very Mouths of his Enemies.

A Gentleman, now living, who kept him Company about twenty Miles, told him, he could not be longer Serviceable to him if he went *Eastward*, and advis'd him to take to a small Creek in *Somersetshire*, call'd *Uphil*, from whence he might have been in *Wales* long before any News could come of his Defeat, and have met with Friends that would have conceal'd him. The Duke was posting to *Limington*, flattering himself that all the Town were his Friends, because Collonel *Dore*, who was then Mayor, was so, and had been secur'd, and that he might thence get a Ship to carry him off, but it was not likely he should have time to do all this, when the Country was every where up in search of him, and his last Disgrace had made them all his Enemies. He being obstinately bent upon making to the Sea-Coasts of *Hampshire*, that Gentleman and others left him to his Fate, which was not attended with so much Infamy as the Jesuit represents it.

He was so far from *Quaking* and *Swooning* when he was taken, that he made Resistance, and the Peasants that discover'd him were afraid to meddle with him, till Soldiers came to help them. As to his writing to King *James*, it was one of the greatest signs of Weakness he ever shew'd; for a Man must have a small Capacity who had known so much of that King

King, and cou'd imagine there was Mercy in his Nature for such an Offender. Thus, says Father Orleans, he was turn'd over to the Judges. Could not his Majesty have inform'd him, that those Judges were only the Sheriffs and Hangmen; and was it Generous for a Prince to admit such a Reflection as this on his Enemy, the Son of his Brother, who had fallen by the Ax, and given Satisfaction for the Injuries he had done him, *That he had a Soul more mean than it was wicked, and that Meanness made it fit for the greatest Villanies.* That Meanness of Soul did not however appear in the last Scene of his Life, when in Souls of the Size he makes the Duke's to be, it is always most visible. He dy'd with as much Firmness as he fought, and the Resistance he made to some Doctors that teaz'd him in vain on the Schaffold, to profess the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, was as Heroick, as if his Understanding had been equal to his Courage.

Doctor  
Hooper,  
Dr. Ken,  
&c.

I would not have it thought, that because I am not for abusing him, as the French Historian does, I therefore approve his Usurpation. I look upon it to be as Criminal as it was Rash, and that his Cause was as bad as his Fortune; but I cannot help believing that many of his Followers meant well, and some of them were so foolish as to fancy they were doing no more Harm then, than when afterwards they came over with the Prince of Orange, as did Collonel Matthews, Collonel

Brigadier  
M—t.

lonel *Foulks*, and others; or that King *James*, who call'd those who join'd the Prince Rebels before he was beaten, would afterwards, if such had been his Lot, have given them better Words or Usage. And yet that does not mend the Matter with Respect to the Duke of *Monmouth*; for he had no Invitation of Lords and Commons, no Right to the Succession, and no Call to disturb the Peace of his Country, but his Despair. The Deluded People that follow'd him were dealt with in the most bloody and inhumane Manner, hundreds were slaughter'd in cold Blood after the Action, and such was the Rage of the King's *Hugonot* General the Earl of *Feversham*, that he threatned to complain of a young Officer, now a General in Her Majesty's Service, for preventing the Murder of five or six of those Wretches, whom his Soldiers were about to put to the Sword. Father *Orleans* takes Notice of the Butcheries that were committed in the *West* by the Form of Law, with which he says the King himself was highly displeased. He words the condemning Men by hundreds, and Hanging, Drawing and Quartering them in every Town for threescore Miles about, from *Bristol* to *Exeter*, in such Phrase, as if the Judges had been breaking Heads or Windows. The King, says he, was informed of those Disorders too late; but as soon as it came to his Ears, he express his Displeasure, and though the Services performed by those

that



that were accus'd prevail'd with him to spare them, He as far as in him lay, made amends for their Injustice. How, I pray, did he spare them? How make amends for their Injustice? Why, by making the chief Offender Lord High Chancellor; for no sooner did *Jefferies* return from making the *West* swim with Protestant Blood, than he had the Great Seal given him. Is it not a pretty *French* Term to say, that the hanging a Man, the seizing his Estate and Goods, is to do him an *Injustice*, and is it not a very fine way of making Amends for murdering three or four hundred Men, and murder'd they must be if they dy'd unjustly, to give off and hang no more. The Father boasting that all were pardon'd that were still capable of receiving Mercy. I might give some Instances of that Injustice, as of a Man's being hang'd for paying Three Pence for Hay for one of *Monmouth's* Horse-men to prevent the Fellows beating the Inn-keeper who demanded it, and a Father serv'd after the same cruel manner, for going to *Monmouth's* Camp to fetch back his Son, whom he had charg'd not to engage in that Business. Both Father and Son I knew, and could fill a Volume with such Examples of *Jefferies's* Service, if the Story was not too stale, and the nice Readers of these Times were not all for Novelty. I shall only tell how the Jesuit describes this Judge's executing his Commission, and then leave it to the World  
to



to determine what Amends may be expected from a *Popish* King for such Acts of Injustice. *More or less Guilt*, says this *French Priest*, was not then made the Motive of inflicting Punishments, or shewing Compassion, but those who were least able to buy themselves off paid dearest, and if many lost their Lives, it was because few had Money enough to save them. Mr. *Prideaux*, Father in Law of that worthy Gentleman *Francis Gwin Esq;* was forc'd to give *Jefferies* almost 15000*l.* to prevent being try'd for High Treason, though had the Law at that time been any thing more than Form, he could have done him no more Hurt then than he can now. I cannot forget the Barbarity of one of those Commission'd to dispence the King's Rigor or Mercy, as the Jesuit phrases it, who would have bargain'd with a young Lady for her Honour, to save the Life of her Lover Mr. *Baliscomb*, and insulted her with the same Terms he made use of in the Stews. Nor is this Scandal, but Fact, easily to be prov'd, if any ones Faith is too delicate to be satisfy'd with a Report confirm'd by the Lady herself, and thus deliver'd to him. It may be imagin'd, that this Cruelty must be *Kirk's*, but tho that Officer was never so bloody to the *Moors* as he was to his Countrymen, yet he had more Gallantry, if not more Pity, than to be guilty of such Inhumanity too infamous to be laid at any ones Door, either Dead or Living. The Jesuit cannot forgive Collonel *Kirk's* early joyn-  
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ing the Prince of *Orange*, and therefore it is that he loads him heavily with this Guilt, of which certainly none can clear him, and after the Revolution he was charg'd home for it by Collonel *Foulks*, when they were in the same Service, King *William's*, and by several others in the same Circumstances. He always exprest a Horror for what was done, tho' done by himself, protesting his Commission went still farther, and that he had put a Restraint on the Power and the Instructions that were given him. The Truth of which depends on the Credit of the Jesuit and the Collonel. The former I have convicted, and shall convict of many Falsities: The latter was a Man of Honour by his Post, and whose Word has most weight with it, let the Reader judge for himself.

Whatever the *French* Priest says of King *James's* being displeas'd with *Jes-feries*, for his Cruelty, I cannot think but it was pleasing to him. Sir *John Hawles*, in his Remarks on *Colledge's* Tryal, says of his Usage, 'It was some-  
" what of Kin to the late Practice in  
" the *West*, where many Men were  
" hang'd for having old *Jewish* Names,  
" as *Obediah*, or the like, with a Jest,  
" that their God-fathers hang'd them.  
And another Author wrote afterwards thus:

" Was the strange Essays of Male-  
" content Government acted at *Taunton*  
" and

“ and *Lyme*, and the no less strange  
 “ Proceedings of the Bloody Chief Ju-  
 “ Justice in his *Western* Circuit, (justly  
 “ term’d) his *Campaign*; for it was an  
 “ open Hostility to all Law; for which,  
 “ and the like Services, he had the  
 “ Reward of the *Great Seal*; nothing but  
 “ Calumny.

I should remember here the extraordi-  
 ry Mercy of King *James* to the Lord *Grey*,  
 afterwards Earl of *Tankerville*. So great,  
 says the Jesuit, as gave occasion to say, he  
 betray’d the Party; which was generally  
 believ’d in the *West*, from that Lord’s  
 leaving the Field so soon with the Duke’s  
 Horse, though I wonder rather how they  
 stood so long. It was said he rally’d the  
 Duke after they were taken on his *Head-*  
*aching*, and behav’d himself as if he had  
 a Pardon in his Pocket. Several Causes  
 of Disgust are also reported, as the pre-  
 ferring some Men to Posts in the Army,  
 which that Lord would have given to o-  
 thers: Nay, some go back so far as their  
 mutual Amours, and pretend the Lord  
*Grey* betray’d him to Revenge a former  
 Jealousy, all which I take to be imaginary  
 Guesses, and that the truest Reason of  
 his Majesty’s super-abundant Tenderneſs,  
 was a Parcel of my Lord’s *Estate*, to the  
 value of about 3000 *l.* a Year given to an  
 Uncle of the King’s, by a good Grant  
 three Years and a half before the 13th of  
*February* 1688, and therefore in no danger  
 of a Resumption.

I have

I have now done with the Duke of *Monmouth*, flattering my self, that what I have said being no where else to be found, and coming from a Person who, after having in his Youth been a Witness of those Transactions, has had many Opportunities to inform himself further of them on the spot, will not be disagreeable to the Publick, tho' the Date of it is older than the Revolution. I have in this and every thing else taken the utmost care to speak from the best Authority. 'Tis true the Persons I have consulted, have been good Protestants and good Subjects to King *William* and Queen *Anne*, but I hope they will not be the worse thought of for that. And I look'd into these Matters chiefly with an Intention to shew what Treatment Protestants might expect from a Popish King, if they have resisted him, and he once has it in his Power to shew his *Rigour and his Mercy*; not that I have any Fears upon me of such Danger to us in *England*. we have a Glorious and Gracious Protestant Queen, whom God long preserve on the Throne; we have many Loyal Addressers to support the Protestant Succession in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, and whenever Demise happens, it will, I doubt not, be effectually supported. But there are some so wicked, as to discover an Inclination to a *French Pretender*, who after Four and twenty Years Exile, would have Work enough for fifty such Servants as the Chancellor *Jefferies*, and his Faithful, Industrious, Disinterest-



ed Clerk, who made the *Western* Campaign with him, and is now living not far from *Aylesbury*, to tell us the History of it, at a very good Seat; the Purchase of this Service and others of the like Nature, though not of so Crimson a Dye.

I should be of the Opinion of those who think there is a sort of Ingratitude in us, in remembring the Faults of a Father, in whose Daughters we have been so happy. If for what ends it is not hard to perceive, some Men were not of late extenuating those Faults, and endeavouring to give us a Disgust of the Revolution which they occasion'd. This being effected, it follows of course, that we did him an Injustice in renouncing Allegiance to him, and since we cannot make Restitution to him, it remains that we do it to his Son, who would doubtless make us a rare Master, after he has been so well educated under the *French* King, and his pretended Mother Queen *Mary*, who has not spar'd for Pains to instruct him well in the Lessons of Revenge of her own and her Husband's Sufferings. What have we got by the War, say the Friends of *France* and the Pretender? as if our Religion, our Liberties and Properties were nothing: For all which the Confederates fought as well as we, in joyning with us against *France*, who would, without such assistance, have long ago impos'd our old King, or a new one upon us. How the former would have



have behav'd himself, supported by a French Army, 'tis easy to imagine by his Behaviour, when he had only an English one. Father Orleans observes, *All Things seem'd to promise him a settled Felicity, having a Victorious Army on foot.* The main Happiness of a Monarch is, according to this Writer, in a Powerful Militia to execute his Will, and that we did not want in King James's time, and should never want in his Son's. He assures us King James's Religion was his Ruin; not as he was *Papist*, but as he had too much of it. As also that he never inclined to take the worst Method, but absolutely in regard to the welfare of his Nation. Was his dispensing with, and suspending of Laws; his setting up the High Commission'd Court; his levying Money by Pretence of Prerogative; his keeping a standing Army, and his Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law; his violating the Freedom of Election of Members of Parliament; his prosecuting Causes in the King's-Bench, only Cognizable in Parliament, of all which I shall speak further in the sequel of this History, for the Welfare of his Nation. Was it for their Welfare, to have Partial, Corrupt, and unqualified Jurors, Excessive Bails and Fines, Illegal and Cruel Punishments, with other such Instances of his Love to his People, which he shew'd most, in admitting them to hear Common Prayer, when he himself heard Mass. The Jesuit crying up his Condescension, in suffering the Archbishop of Canterbury to put the Crown on his and his Queen's Head,

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which

which he could not very well answer to his Religion. It is worthy our Notice how he extols his Majesty's Moderation, in desiring only that some of his *Popish* Officers might keep their Illegal Commissions, whereas he might have employ'd none but *Papists*, if he would; and the Reason he gives for it is admirable, because all the Nation were *Catholicks* in the Time of *St. Edward the Confessor*. He could not have pickt out such another Reign to have matcht with King *James's*. The Court being all *Papists*, and *Frenchify'd*, and the King having given his Kingdom to the *French*, who accordingly conquer'd it not long after under *William the Bastard*. The Priest, who by the way was a Confident of the King, and had what he wrote from King *James* himself, reflects further on his extraordinary Moderation as an unpardonable Fault; for that *if he had employ'd more Popish Officers it could not have made more Noise, and he had been better serv'd*. This Error no doubt will be remedy'd, if ever we should have the Curse of a *Papist* for our King again. Let us not therefore forget that we had such a one that we thought our Church, our Estates, our Liberties, and every thing in the utmost danger. Did we then talk of *Loyalty without Limits, and Obedience without Reserve of absolute and unlimited Subjection to Oppressive, Tyrannical and Unjust Governors*, As *A——y* and others of the same Conscience have preach'd lately? Did we think that we must

not

not resist to save the whole World from Damnation, as Pious Bishop Sanderſon has it. No, no, our Fright ſet the Truth before our Eyes, and we then talk'd reaſonably, when our All was at ſtake, as now we are ſafe we talk Nonſence out of Wantonneſs, or revive the old exploded Principles to bring us again into the like Peril. How the Clergy carry'd themſelves at that Time we ſhall ſee in the French Hiſtory. The Miniſtry of the Church of England in ſome Places had the Boldneſs publickly to preach againſt their Sovereign's Conduct, and againſt thoſe he exempted from the Rigor of the Laws. Dr. Sharp, Parſon of St. Giles's, was very remarkable in this Particular, inveighing in his Sermons againſt the Catholicks, in ſuch manner as the moſt Zealous Proteſtants diſapprov'd and thought too violent. Did King James find it ſo? Was the Doctör diſown'd by his Dioceſan, and inſtead of diſapproving, did not all Proteſtants think themſelves highly oblig'd to that Reverend Divine for ſo boldly aſſerting the Truth of our Religion in oppoſition to the Idolatry of the Church of Rome? But if our Obedience to the moſt Oppreſſive and Unjuſt Governors be without Reſerve, how could that learned Doctör answer ſuch his Zeal to what follows of the Jeſuit's Hiſtory. That the King ever ſince he firſt deſigned to tolerate and encourage Popery, had foreſeen he ſhould be attack'd by the Proteſtant Preachers; in order to curb whom, he put out Inſtructions, wherein, among other things, they were forbid meddling

in their Sermons with Matters of State, bringing in Question the Rights of Subjects and Sovereigns, handling certain Points in Divinity, &c. But, says this Priest, These Injunctions did not hinder the Parson of St. Giles's from breaking loose, he transgressed several of them in a Sermon, and there was danger of his continuing so, had not some Remedy been apply'd. It was this which he assures us made the King set up the Ecclesiastical Commission Court, and says he, As soon as it was erected the Bishop of London, and that railing Parson were summoned before it. The Bishop could hardly be brought to own the Jurisdiction of the Court, notwithstanding the Archbishop of Canterbury, his Metropolitan, was one of the Commissioners. Did not the King know the Archbishop refus'd to act in it, or to acknowledge its Jurisdiction any more than the Bishop of London? Why then this Jesuitical Evasion, so much below the Honour and Sincerity of a King, especially of one who has such a Character for Sanctity, that it is not to be doubted he will be made a Saint at the next Promotion. To shew how moderate he was in his advancing Papists, you have Father Orleans's Word, that he never preferr'd any of them, but these following to be

Privy

## Privy Councillors.

The Earl of *Powis*,  
The Earl of *Peterborough*,  
The Earl of *Castlemain*,  
The Earl of *Tyrconnel*,  
The Lord *Arundel*,  
The Lord *Dover*,

He forgot the Earl of *Melfort*,  
The Lord *Waldgrave*,  
Father *Petre*,  
Sir *Nicholas Butler*,

And others, too well known to be mentioned, which with the new Converts, made almost half of that Board. He gives us his Word, that there was no Catholics preferr'd to any Governments, But

The Lord *Widdrington*,  
The Lord *Langdale*,  
Sir *Edmund Hales*, and the  
Earl of *Tyrconnel*.

Ten times the Number of these and Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, and Sheriffs of Counties, besides Justices of the Peace, might be nam'd, if it was necessary.

In the Army there was very few Popish Officers, if you will believe him, But



The Duke of *Berwick*,  
 The Lord *Dover*,  
 The Lord *Dunbarton*,  
 Collonel *Hamilton*,  
 He has forgot Mr. *Fitz James*, who com-  
 manded the Princess's Regiment.  
 Collonel *Henry Lutterell*,  
 Collonel *Gage*,  
 The Earl of *Peterborough*,  
 Collonel *Carne*,  
 Collonel *Butler*,  
 Collonel *Wachop*,  
 Lord *Forbes*,  
 Collonel *Mac Elliot*,  
 Collonel *Douglass*,  
 Collonel *Bochan*, and as many more.

In the Fleet he says there was only  
 Sir *Roger Strickland*.

These were the small Numbers of Ca-  
 tholicks employ'd by King *James*, ac-  
 cording to his Majesty's Memoirs, except  
 a few in Civil Posts, as the

The Lord *Howard*,  
 Sir — *Titchburn*,  
 Mr. *Brown*, and  
 Mr. *Porter*.

So that were this List right, and this is  
 the List the Jesuit had from the King, as  
 he pretends, there were not above twenty  
 Papiſts in Employments of Note, during  
 his Reign; whereas we cannot but re-  
 member

member there was hardly one considerable Post, Civil or Military, which was not fill'd by Papist, or their Tools, even to the Judges and Bishops, as fast as vacancies fell. The Turn he gives to the Proceedings against *Magdalen Colledge*, where Dr. *Hough* and the Fellows made that noble Stand in Defence of their Rights and Privileges, is very extraordinary. Bishop Gifford, says he, was made President of *Magdalen Colledge* in Oxford, with some other Doctors of the King's Religion, to chastize the Refractory Protestants, who had oppos'd his appointing one of their own. His Majesty all the while knowing much better than I do, that it was not his Right but that of the Fellows to chuse their Head, and that they had accordingly chosen Dr. *Hough*, pursuant to the Statutes of their House, which they were sworn to preserve. I would desire the Reader to take with him all along, as he runs over these Reflections, that I am as sensible as he can be, how ridiculous it is to reflect on the Writings of a *French Jesuit*, concerning our Affairs. We may be sure they will not have a true Word in them that does not make for his Religion, which cannot well be expected in the History of a Nation that has it in such Detestation; and I should have left it to the Contempt it deserves, if People did not begin to speak favourably of it, because of the Hand the Author says our Abdicated King had in it.

I should

I should not have made any Observati-  
 onson the Jesuit's Account, of King *James's*  
*Closetting* the Members of Parliament by  
 fair Words and Threats, to engage them  
 to consent to the taking off the Penal  
 Laws and Test, had not his Excuse for  
 those *Private Conferences*, as he calls them,  
 been very extraordinary. That it was  
 done by Two Kings before, King *Edward*  
*II.* and King *Richard III.* the former de-  
 pos'd, and one would think he should have  
 been an Example of another kind to King  
*James.* The latter would probably have  
 had the same Fate, if he had not been  
 kill'd in Battel, leaving behind Him the  
 Character of a Murderer and Usurper.  
 And yet as to these Two Princes, the Father  
 owns the Parliament desir'd King *Edward*  
 to confer separately with the Members,  
 and compell'd King *Richard* to do it almost  
 against his Will. Was there any thing  
 like this in King *James's Closettings*? Was  
 he intreated or forc'd to do it? Did the  
 Success of it show that the People were  
 pleas'd with it? His Majesty was not con-  
 tent to Closet the Parliament Men, He  
 had his Private Conferences with the Offi-  
 cers of the Army, and all others that had  
 Civil Posts of any Consideration, in which  
 Threats were not wanting that they  
 should lose them, if they did not com-  
 ply. Wonderful is the Steddiness the  
*English* Gentlemen shew'd on this Occasi-  
 on; and in the Army, where there were  
 several *Tangieren* Officers, otherwise as  
 Lewd as Lewdness could make them, yet  
 out

out of a Principle of Honour, to be true to the Religion they profess; they gave the King to understand they could not comply with him in that Point, and *Kirk* in particular, is reported to have reply'd merrily, *That having been in the Emperor of Morocco's Court, as he was on some Affairs relating to the Garrison of Tangier, he had promis'd the Emperor, that whenever he chang'd his Religion, he would turn Turk; and he could not be a Catholick till he was discharg'd of that Promise.* Whether his Discretion or good Manners would suffer him to use that Freedom with a Prince who was not in Love with Jest, I shall not consider; but give it as I found it deliver'd by Common Fame. It is certain he answer'd very bluntly, and from that time lost the King's Favour, of which he had till then a share, for his Services in the West.

The *French* Priest, who had so often consulted King *James*, was never told, it seems, that by the Laws of *England*, it is High Treason for an *English* Man to act as an *English* Minister in the Court of *Rome*; for he tells us his Majesty thought *No Fault would be found with Him, for sending an Ambassador Extraordinary to Rome, for the Direction of his Conscience.* On which Errand, was sent the Earl of *Castlemain*, to whose Direction there was scarce a Man in *England* besides the King, who would have left his Conscience. And why might not he have an Ambassador at *Rome* as well as at *Constantinople*, and a Nuntio from the Pope, as well as an Envoy from *Fez*?  
Why

Why truly, if the Laws were not against it, and we had as much Business to do with the Pope as with the Grand Signior, and the King of *Fez*, I should be very willing to put his Holiness on equal Foot with those Two Infidels. But since we can have no such Correspondence with him, without Sacrificing our Laws and our Religion, and have no Affairs to Negotiate with him but what must be Treasonable, the Fault was much less in taking Care of our Commerce to *Turky* and *Barbary*, than in sending a Minister to *Rome* for Bulls and Indulgences.

The great Integrity of our Historiographer Royal, appears in the Excuse he makes for King *James's* hasty Zeal to bring in his own Religion in these Kingdoms. He says, *The Church of England was in an Uproar, only because Mass was suffer'd to be said; two or three Popish Chapels and Schools were opened, some Papists that had been injur'd, were righted; Oates was Pillory'd, and some Libellers and Seditious Preachers punish'd.* This he pretends is all, and he wonders that for such Trifles, there should be any in *France*, who thought King *James's* Conduct too hot. We have in the former Pages mention'd some other Piccadillo's, as the Dispensing with our Laws, the Raising of Armies, the Levying of Money, the Violating the Freedom of Elections, Imprisoning our Bishops, Invading the Rights of our Countries, Excessive Fines, unheard of Cruelties in Punishment, and the like. To which might be added *Quo Quarranto's*, Quarter-



*ing of Soldiers, Hanging by Martial Law; the Disarming of Protestants, and sending for an Army of Irish Papists, to use the Words of the Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Assembled at Westminster. His Endeavours, by the Assistance of divers Evil Councillors, Judges and Ministers, to subject and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom. Yet the French Priest reduces all His Faults to Ten or Twelve Facts purposely pack'd together, to make the greater Show, which he admires the French should think much of, because it is at the worst, but Four Faults to a Kingdom, and Three Faults to a Year. They should compare, says he, those Ten or Twelve Facts, with the Extent of Three Kingdoms, and the Term of Four Years. All which put together, he cannot help being in an Amazement, that so Zealous a King as He, should do so little, and that He did it so slowly. The Jesuits you see, are for quick Work, and we find what we must trust to, if ever we should have a King of so much Bigotry again, He will not be Four Years doing his Business, a Comfortable Reflection for such as have taken long Leases of Abby-Lands, and have good Incomes on Protestant Funds, of Ninety Nine, or Thirty Two Years standing.*

The next Paragraph of this *History*, contains a Calumny so Notoriously False, that if his Masters Conscience could admit of its being Publish'd, methinks common Discretion should have prevented it,  
if

if Popish Zeal were capable of being Discreet. For who is there will believe, that the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal* and the *Gentlemen of England* who Invited over the Prince of *Orange*, were drawn in by those that had before form'd the *Eye-House Plot*? Was ever Slander so Wicked, so Impudent, and yet so Absurd? The *Shaftsburian Faction* rising again, as it were out of its *Ashes*, says the *Jesuit*, made use of an *Argument* like that of the *Jews*, when they Crucify'd C H R I S T, that the *Romans* would engross all the *Employments*. To prove this, they produc'd some *Instances*, which tho' few in *Number*, were nevertheless blameable. Again, The *Confederacy* was the easier, because the *Faction*, after the *Example* of *Shaftsbury*, their *Old Head*, discover'd but half their *Design*; Were the *Earls of Wiltshire and Shrewsbury*, now *Dukes of Bolton and Shrewsbury*, the *Lord Mordant*, now *Earl of Peterborough*, the *Earl of Macclesfield* who came over with the Prince of *Shaftsbury's* *Faction*? Were the *Dukes of Ormond and Grafton*, the *Earls of Oxford, Bath, Abingdon and Clarendon*, and the other *Lords* who joyn'd him in the *West* in *Shaftsbury's* *Conspiracy*? Not to mention the *Dukes of Norfolk and Leeds*, the *Earls of Devonshire, Northampton, Scarborough*, and the *Lords of the Eastern and Northern Associations*? Could he dare to assert, that their *Royal Highnesses* the Prince and Princess of *Denmark*, were influenced by the same *Conspirators* that had *Shaftsbury*

bury for their Head ? Was ever Malice and Insolence like this ; but it is no strange thing, that a *French* Jesuit shou'd talk thus of the *English* Nobility and Gentry, who so generally espous'd that Cause the Prince of *Orange* came to defend ; which King *James*, before he fled to *France*, had by the Pen of a State Writer, the *Remarker on the Princes Declaration*, told us was the worst Rebellion that ever was in *England*. If these things, says the Remarker, could not vindicate the *Presbyterian* Plotters in the late Kings Reign, or *Monmouths* Rebellion, it cannot excuse the present Undertaking, for this doth infinitely exceed those and the *Civil War*. This is sufficient to shew upon what Terms those Noble Lords stood with his Majesty, and that whatever Flourishes the Friends to the same Arbitrary Power which ruin'd King *James*, may give to that Event ; telling us both in the Pulpit, and out of it, that there was no *Resistance* at the Revolution, King *James* would have treated them as he did *Monmouth's* Men, looking upon them to be as great Rebels as ever those of the Grand Rebellion in *Forty One*, which we are so often, and so Eloquently put in mind of. This no Body sure can question, or we might prove the Denomination K. *James's* Court gave to all the Lords that were with the Prince, by an Answer put out to the Petition of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal for a Free Parliament ; that they could not meet themselves, nor be allow'd Proxies,

Proxes, because they were in Rebellion, which I hope is *Resistance with a Vengeance*, and they would have paid for it accordingly, had *Feverham* succeeded as well this Year with an Army of 30000 Men, as he did with 3000, Three Years before. Nor would those who actually joyn'd the Prince, or took Arms in other Parts on the same Account, have been only treated as Rebels. The sense of the King and Court, was explain'd in a Treatise call'd the *Dutch Design Anatomiz'd*, where the Proposals presented by

*William*, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury,  
*Francis*, Lord Bishop of Ely,  
*John*, Lord Bishop of Chichester,  
*Thomas*, Lord Bishop of Rochester,  
*Thomas*, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells,  
*Thomas*, Lord Bishop of Peterborough,  
*Henry*, Lord Bishop of London,  
*Peter*, Lord Bishop of Winchester,  
*William*, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph,

were put on the same Level with the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, which, as may be seen by the Proclamation of the second of November 1688, whoever repeated, or handed about, was to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd. What then must those Reverend Prelates have expected, had the Prince been driven from *England*, as he drove King *James* from *Ireland*? For that Author has the Confidence to tell us, *The Forg'd Heads of the Prince's Declaration, and the Bishops Ten Proposals, are known to be*  
the



the Contrivance of the Kings Enemies, form'd on purpose to amuse the People, and make them believe the setting us at Rights, is the very Design of the Dutch; and which proves plainly enough, that if the Design had miscarry'd, not only the Redress of the Grievances complain'd of in the *Declaration*, and in the *Proposals*, was utterly to be despair'd of, but those that had made them were already Arraign'd for his Enemies, and accordingly to be treated. For, says the same Author, *If out of Peevish Stubbornness, some will sit still and not assist the King at this Juncture, or very wrongly joyn with the Invaders, what can they expect from his Victorious Arms, but the Punishment due to their Perfidiousness.* What signifies then the Ridiculous Dispute, whether there was any *Resistance* at the *Revolution* or not, whether any Body was knockt on the Head at *Wincaunton*, *Cirencester*, *Twyford*, *Maidnehead*? In short, at the *Boyne*, *Aghrim*, or any where else; the Signing that Petition contrary to the then Government, was as bad in the Opinion of the Court, as drawing the Sword to oppose his Majesty's Will and Pleasure, as bad as drawing up the *Pr. of Orange's Declaration*, and that as bad as the Rebellion in *Forty One*, as has been already observ'd. Thus *Dr. Ken* was in as much Danger as *Dr. Burnet*, and as much a Rebel in *King James's* Opinion, as if he had taken the Oath to the Prince he Invited over, and kept his Bishoprick. Tho' after the Example of the Archbishop of *Camberbury*, he refus'd to Swear Allegiance to *King William*, whom they

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both were so Instrumental in making King. After the King, as has been already mention'd, had declar'd all those that joyn'd the Prince of *Orange* Rebels, and while his Majesty was still in *England*, the Archbishop, the Bishops of *Ely* and *Peterborow*, who lost their Bishopricks, for not taking the Oaths to the Government, which the Law enjoyn'd, Sign'd a Declaration at *Guild-Hall*, wherein, among other things, they promise *To assist his Highness with their utmost Endeavours*, and took upon them to turn the Kings Lieutenant, Sir *Bevil Skelton* out of the *Tower*, and put the Lord *Lucas* in his Place, to whom the Archbishop himself gave the Keys. But this you will say was not *Resistance*, there was no Blood shed. All was done peaceably and voluntarily. It would have been a pretty Argument, had King *James* prevail'd to have been urg'd against an Indictment of High Treason, for *Aiding and Abetting* the Prince, contrary to the Proclamation of the Sixth of *November*, 1688. that made the doing of it Rebellion. I am not solicitous to know the Reason that induc'd the Nonjuring Bishops to desert their Revolution Principles, when the Cause was accomplish'd. I cannot account for Men's Weaknesses, Fears, Hopes, Vanity, Stubbornness or Humour, For as to the Guilt of it, every Man who set his Name to the Lords Declaration at *Guild-hall*, was as deep in the Mire, as much a Rebel, according to the King's Sentiments, as those that Voted for the  
Vacancy

Vacancy of the Throne, and to fill it up with their Deliverer, who in Right of his Wife, was next in Succession. It is no Secret, that there were several Meetings of the Bishops at *Lambeth*, to consider what should be done. and that it was more than once resolv'd, that they should Conform. Bishop *Ken* being attended by several of his Clergy at *Wells*, before he came to Parliament, they ask'd his Advice concerning the Oaths, and he then gave it that they should take them, intending, as he said, so to do himself. But on the News of King *James's* Preparations, for *Ireland*, and afterwards of his Landing there, their Flights of Popery being pretty well over, and Persons at the Helm, for whom they had no great Respect, Scruples upon Scruples arose. And tho' the Archbishop had granted his Commission to other Bishops, to Consecrate Dr. *Burnet* Bishop of *Salisbury*, every whit as Criminal as if he had done it himself, if it was a Crime at all, yet having profest, that he could not in Conscience Swear to the New King he was loth to recede from it, and his Example was follow'd by his Brethren the Nonjurors. Father *Orleans* tells us, that Six of the Seven Bishops who were Committed to the Tower, refus'd the Oaths to King *William*, which was to make the most of them he could. For it is certain, the Bishops of St. *Asaph* and *Bristol*, did take the Oaths, and their Lordships, the present Bishops of *Winchester* and *Worcester*, have approv'd themselves as

Hearty Friends to the Establishment, and as great Enemies to *France* as any of their Order; which receives as much Honour from the Prelates that are now of it, as it gives to them.

I have in the foregoing Pages not kept my self in every thing, to the exact Order of Chronology, chusing rather to remember such Events as had relation to any remarkable Occurrence under that Head, than to bring them in when they happen'd, thus clear the Matter at once, and set it in its full Light.

The good Father speaking of the Precaution the Prince of *Orange* took before he enter'd upon his Expedition, to fortifie himself with Foreign Alliances, upbraids him with undermining King *James* therein, *who had made a League with Spain, and had no particular One with France, but he was the French King's Personal Friend and Kinsman.* I have often smil'd at that mighty Argument made use of by the *French King*, with respect to King *Charles* and King *James*, that they were Akin to him. The Emperor and the King of *Spain*, whose Dominions he was perpetually spoiling and ravishing from them, were nearer Related to His Most Christian Majesty than our Two Kings could pretend to be; so near, that his Sons had been the next Heir to the *Spanish* Succession, had it not been for that Solemn Renunciation Sworn again and again, at his Marriage with the King of *Spain's* Sister his own *Cousin German* too. But it was the best Reason he had for  
Leaguings

Leaguings with these Princes, whose true Interests were as opposite to his, as Liberty is to Slavery. He must help King James to enslave his Subjects, and bring in Popery, because he loves him, and is his Cousin. Not in pursuance of any Private League. It is very plain, there was no such thing, you have the Marquis *D'Albyville*, and the Jesuits Words for it: And all you have against it, is the Count *De Avaux*, and the States of *Holland*, who in their Answer to the Marquis's Memorial, tell him, *They were long since fully convinc'd of the Alliance which the King his Master had Treated with France, and which had been mention'd to them by Monsieur Le Conte De Avaux in his Memorial.* This Matter is amply discuss'd in the First Part of this History, and I think no reasonable Man has any room to dispute it. The Pope, the Emperor, the King of Spain, and the States of *Holland*, believ'd it. It was this occasion'd the League of *Augsburgh*, and King James never gave himself any Trouble to undeceive them. The French King press him to let a Squadron of his Men of War joyn the English Fleet, before the Prince's Design for England was known, my Lord *Sunderland* says in his Letter, *French Ships were offer'd to joyn with our Fleet.* And after this, *Since the Noise of the Prince's Design, more Ships were offer'd, and it was agreed how they should be Commanded.* Yet the Father Orleans is very angry with the Prince of Orange, for rendring the King his Father-in-Law, suspected



to the House of Austria, as a Prince ill affected to its Projects, and strictly united in Interest to France, which Coleman had been so frank as to own many Years before, and that the French King and the Duke of York's Interests were inseparable. I shall have Occasion hereafter, to speak of the Share Foreign Princes had in the Revolution, and shall therefore say nothing now of the Intrigues of the Marquis De Castanaga, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, and Don Pedro de Ronquillo, the Spanish Ambassador in England, of whom the French Historian makes mention as concern'd in it. The latter solicited King James to enter into the Augsburg Confederacy, but his Majesty would not hear of it, answering, says the Jesuit, very directly, *That he must not interrupt the Friendship there was between him and the Most Christian King his Kinsman, who was willing to live in Peace with his Neighbours.* At which time, was his Majesty's Cousin preparing to fall upon the Empire by Surprize, and soon after made that Terrible Inroad into Germany, where he laid the Palatinate in Ashes and Blood, and seiz'd a great part of the Electorates of Cologne, Mentz and Triers.

The French Historian quarrels with the Dutch for not sending over King James Six Regiments which were Mackays, Bal-forts, Talmarsh, Bellises, Washops and Osserys, all of them engag'd in the Prince's Service, and all came over with him. *It was given out among the People,* says the Priest, *That the Prince of Wales was not Born of the Queen,*



Queen, but the Author of that Report did not gain any Reputation. We all remember how general the Belief was, that the Birth was Suppositious, and that the Court it self knew how much it was suspected. For my part, I never troubled my self to think about it, we have good Acts of Parliament that settled the Crown first on King William and Queen Mary, then on Queen Anne, and after on the Protestant Heirs. I always thought it ridiculous to trouble our Heads about him. Whether he was the Queen's Child or her Nurses, it would have been all one to me, if the Laws were against him as they now are. But I am so fully convinc'd of the mighty Import it was to the *Papists*, to have had Matter well prov'd, considering how much it was doubted before the Child was produc'd, that I cannot believe, as Proud and as Obstinate as Queen Mary was, she would for the good of the Cause, have refus'd to have been delivered in a Camp, as it is said a Queen of *Arragon* upon the like Occasion was, rather then leave the least room for any one to suspect an Imposture: Whereas that Birth was attended with all the Signs of one that ever was, except the Bawdy Evidence of a pick'd Company, which, were it stronger, is liable to all the Exceptions that a Fraud is capable of. It is to do too much Honour to the Pretender, to talk in any manner of him but as the Law does, as a Person under Attainder; and I'm almost asham'd of saying so much on a Subject, for which every

fix'd Englishman must have the last Contempt: So many Witnesses above all Exception, (as the Jesuit protests) had seen the Prince of Wales Born; so many saw him immediately after, that the Fable seem'd insupportable, even to those whose greatest Concern it was to keep it up. Whereas a very indifferent Intrigue might with much fairer Appearances of Fact, impose a Birth at any time on People dispos'd by Bigotry, Passion and Interest to believe it, as were the Assembly Summon'd by the Court, to bear their Testimony to the Queen's Delivery. It was a great Disappointment to them, continues the Historian, to have a Prince of Wales Born, who could not fail of being brought up in the Catholick Religion, which must perpetuate it on the Throne, and in time bring it to prevail among the People. Nothing in the World can be freer and more impartial. If you have a Popish King, you must in time be all Papists. Nothing can be truer, and yet there were, and are still some so Mad among us, as to fancy a Popish King may be a good Protector of our Protestant Church, because King James in his first Speech to his Council, give them the Word of a King, That he would take particular Care to Support and Defend the Church of England, and one would think too, because he kept his Word so well with them.

There was no one Act of King James's Reign, which forwarded the Revolution more, than his sending the Seven Bishops to the Tower, for not reading the Declaration

ration for *Liberty of Conscience*, in which these Prelates acted with a Pious Zeal against Popery only; for they at the same time declar'd, they were willing to come to a *Temper* with Dissenting Protestants; and the good Disposition the Church was in at that time, to favour their Protestant Brethren, made the latter concern themselves as much in their Sufferings, as if they had been their own Pastors; yet the *Frenchman* assures us, that the *Presbyterian* Parsons put the *Papists* upon the King, to get him to oblige the Bishops to publish it in the Churches, in hopes to make their Advantages of the Controversy. There were but Two *Presbyterian* Parsons of the whole Sect, that kept any Correspondence with the Court, and those were *Lob* and *Alsop*, who had great Obligations to the King, the one having been himself Pardon'd by him, for Practices against him, and the other having got a Pardon for his Son. The former kept close to that King, to his last Hour at *Whitehal*, and was the only *Fanatick Jacobite* that I ever heard of. He has said himself, that he offer'd the King, as he was going off, to attend him, and that his Majesty told him, *He should stay, He might do Him more Service by it*, and accordingly he us'd as long as he liv'd, to speak respectfully of that Prince, and has been thought to have kept a Correspondence with the Enemies of the Government. The Jesuit calls the Bishops putting the King's Council on Proof of their Petition, a *base Slight*, as if in Matters of Law,

Law, the Accus'd might not have Recourse to the quickest and easiest way of clearing themselves; and for that our Kings have concluded their Proclamations with these Words, *Witness our Self*. He thinks it hard, that King James's own Evidence was not taken to prove the Petition Legally to be theirs. In the next Place, least it may be thought that I have done an Injury to the Nonjuring Bishops, in affirming that they invited over the Prince, I shall add the Authority of King James's French Historiographer to the Inference that may be drawn from the Prince of Orange's Declaration. *It was doubtless*, says he, *this Artifice that prevail'd on those Prelates to write to the Dutch Prince, praying him to expedite his March, and come in to the Defence of their Religion and Laws, which they pretended the King had Invaded again, by Imprisoning them.*

I cannot pass over the Reflections the Jesuit makes on the Conduct of the Earl of Sunderland, whole Reputation it would be a more easy Task to vindicate, had he not prevaricated in his Religion more than he did in his Politicks. It must be said for that Lord, he was Hearty in the Exclusion Business; He oppos'd the admitting *Roman Catholicks* into the Army, and Places of Trust; He did the same by the Dispensing Power; He defended *Magdalen Colledge*; He oppos'd the Dissolving of the Parliament, and the Prosecution of the Bishops, and was always lookt upon by the *Papists* as their Enemy. How far  
it



it is allowable for a Man to Countenance an ill Administration, by joyning in it to prevent its doing Mischief, I am not now to consider. It must be own'd at least, that in all the before-mentioned Particulars he did well; and if he did not himself Correspond with the Prince of *Orange*, his Lady did with the Princess; whether there was any thing more than Civilities in that Correspondence, I have not learnt; and there does not seem any great Occasion of the Earls using any other means of communicating his Sentiments to that Prince, than by his Kinsman the late Earl of *Romney*, who was then in his Court. That he did not put King *James* on Evil Councils, purposely to betray and ruin him, will appear by his own Account of his Management after the Prince's Expedition was no more a Secret to the Court of *England*. Upon the first Thought of his coming, says that Lord in a Letter of his written shortly after King *William* was Proclaim'd, I laid hold of the Opportunity to press the King to do several things that I would have had done sooner; the Chief of which were to restore *Magdalen Colledge*, and all other Ecclesiastical Preferments which had been diverted from what they were intended for; to take off my Lord Bishop of *London*'s Suspension; to put the Counties into the same Hands they were in before; to annul the Ecclesiastical Court, and to restore respectively all the Corporations of *England*. These things were done effectually, by the help of some about the King, and it was then thought I had destroyed my self, by enraging



ging again the whole Roman Catholick Party to such a Height, as has not been since they dispers'd Libels of me every Day, told the King that I betray'd him, that I ruin'd him by perswading him to make such shameful Condescensions; but most of all by hindring the securing the Chief of the disaffected Nobility and Gentry, which was propos'd as a certain way to break all the Prince's Measures, and by addressing his Majesty to call a Free Parliament, and to depend upon that rather than Foreign Assistance. It is true I did give him those Counsels, which were called weak, to the last Moment he suffered me in his Service; then I was accus'd of holding Correspondence with the Prince.

Whether this Lord did or did not correspond with the Prince of Orange, this is plain, he gave King James such Advice, as would have kept him on the Throne, had he persu'd it. Had he call'd a Free Parliament, and thrown himself entirely on his People, he might have reign'd to his Death, and if the Prince had any Views of the Crown before King James left it, the Lord Sunderland was not much his Friend in advising the latter, as he did, to redress all our Grievances. There are two things we are indebted to him for preventing, which had he not done, the success of the Revolution had been dubious, if not unfortunate, and that was the bringing in of a French Army, which the Priests were violently for, and the seizing the Chief of the Protestant Lords, which would have hinder'd their serving the Prince themselves,

selves, and probably have discourag'd others. It has been a constant Custom of the *French* Factions in *England*, to load all those that came over with the Prince with the blackest Calumnies. And whether out of our Natural Love to Scandal, or our fatal Inclination to the same Principles of Government which ruin'd King *James*, the Characters of those Gentlemen thus blacken'd by the Enemies of the Revolution, have not been sufficiently vindicated by the Friends to it. Who is there that has suffer'd more by this Humour or Prejudice than my Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, whose Learning, Piety, publick Spirit, and vast Capacity make him an Honour to our Country, and a Treasure which we know not how to prize. The Earl of *Sunderland's* espousing King *William's* Interest afterwards with Zeal, and becoming one of his Ministers, made him more odious to the Faction than he was in King *James's* Reign, and whatever ill Things were said of him were greedily swallow'd by King *William's* Friends as well as Enemies; we having been always too ready to encourage Slander, let who will be the Sufferers by it.

I do not pretend to excuse my Lord's Conformity to the Church of *Rome*, which he tenderly expresses thus, *Whatever I did foolishly to preserve my self*: But I must still be of Opinion, that he was eminently serviceable to the Protestant Interest in his Ministry, and that the Jesuit himself  
speak-

speaking for and against him, as to his betraying King *James*, inclines to the Negative, which it is probable was the King's own Opinion, the Priest having all he knew from him, which is confirm'd by the King's summoning the Earl to Council again a few Days after he was turn'd out of his Office of Secretary of State, and after he had been threatned with a Charge of High Treason. I shall conclude what I have to say of that Lord, with what he himself says of the Prince, in his Letter from *Rotterdam*. For he fled to *Holland*, and was there apprehended, of which Notice was taken in the Publick Prints, though some pretend he was all that while very much in the Prince's Favour, of whom he writes thus, *Some time after came the first News of the Prince of Orange's Designs, which were not then look'd on as they have prov'd, no Body foreseeing the Miracles he has done by his wonderful Prudence, Conduct and Courage; for the greatest Thing which has been undertaken these thousand Years, or perhaps ever, could not be effected without Vertues hardly to be imagined till seen neerer hand.*

If Father *Orleans* had been employ'd to make a Paraphrase on the Secret League between King *James* and the French King, he could not have describ'd better the Endearment there was between the two Monarchs which produc'd that Alliance, than where he speaks of *Lewis XIVth's* Care of the King of Eng-

land's

Land's Safety in discovering the Prince's Designs, and endeavouring to prevent them. *It is not easy, says he, to express how much our Court took to heart the Danger of a King who had long been beloved there. Mr. Skelton was almost tired out with People stopping, questioning, and almost quarrelling with him, because their Advice was not followed, which indeed was what Monsieur Bonrepos brought to accept of a French Army and Fleet, and what my Lord Sunderland prevented. What follows is the Method propos'd by Skelton, for which he was sent to the Tower when he came to England; where he remain'd a Prisoner about three Weeks, and was then made Governor of it. This Gentleman was a Protestant, just such a one as many we have now, who was for securing our Government by a French Power. One Day Monsieur de Croissy, a French Minister pressing him about Assistance from France, Skelton, after answering, he had no Orders, and durst not ask any Thing, added, that nevertheless he believed, if his most Christian Majesty should declare to the States how much he espoused the King his Master's Concerns and threaten'd to attack them, in case they attempted any thing against him, it would certainly put a Stop to them, and break all the Prince of Orange's Measures, without raising any Fears in England of inviting in French Succours. This was the occasion of the Count d' Avaux's Memorial to the States. In which he owns his Master the French King's Alliance*



ance with *England*. But in this the *French* Court shew'd what Fools they made of ours, then as they did in King *Charles* the Second's Time, when he sent his Ambassadors to *Utrecht*, where they agreed on certain Articles, which were publish'd soon after, and it appear'd, that the restoring Popery in *Holland* was one of them. The *French* Ministers never matter how they expose the *English* whenever they have a Point to carry by it, which we think should be such Warning to ours, that none will ever put it into their Power to do them any Mischief; for they'll be sure to incite them to the most dangerous Councils, and they must go through with them; or they will be always in peril of being betray'd. The Court of *England* did their utmost to perswade that of *France* to disown this Memorial, and the Alliance mention'd in it; but the *French* Ministers could not be prevail'd upon to do it. Not out of a Principle of Honour, because it was false in Fact, but because by this Step they thought they had sufficiently shewn the *English* Protestants what their King would do with them, if ever he had it in his Power, and this alarming them beyond Measure, wou'd oblige the King to have Recourse to his Brother of *France* for help in that time of Distress.

The early Appearance of the Lord *Churchil* in the Cause of Liberty at the *Revolution*, made the Papists his Inveterate Irreconcilable Enemies, and therefore the

the *French* Priest makes use of his Invention to injure his Reputation, as if he did it with a Prophetick Zeal against a Heroe whom Heaven had decreed to bring down the Pride of that Haughty Monarch, who had in his Fancy erected himself an Empire over the World. The Jesuit assures us, that that Lord had not only form'd a Design to desert King *James*, but to secure his Person, and carry him to the Prince of *Orange*; and proves it by such Reasons, as will give Satisfaction to all such as can reconcile Contradictions, as *Revolution* and *Non-Resistance*, *Hereditary* and *House of Hanover*. In short, to all my Lord's Enemies, who most certainly are all Friends to *France* and the Pretender. He says, that the Lord *Lovelace* and his thirteen Men being taken in *Gloucestershire* going to *Exeter*, and a Party of thirty Horse of the Prince's Troops being worsted at *Wincanton*; this is very Fact, *The Faction*, continues he, apprehending they had not taken right Measures, resolv'd in order to cut short to seize the King, and who was to do it but my Lord *Churchil*, nothing hindring it but the bleeding of the King's Nose. Is not this very likely, that two such notable Disgraces should discourage the whole Kingdom, which he represents as corrupted, Army and all. The Truth of the Matter is, the Nobility about the King having us'd all the Arguments they could think of to perswade him to

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call

call a Free Parliament, and finding him immoveably fix'd in a contrary Resolution, the Soldiers in great Discontent, Disorder and Fear, and the whole Nation just ready to break out into a Flame. Those Noble Lords could not resolve to stay with his Majesty surrounded by *Popish* and *Irish* Officers, and therefore went to the Prince to hasten the Settlement of the Nation on the Foot of its Laws and Liberties. With my Lord Churchill went his Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark and the Duke of Grafton, and my Lords own Letter, which he left for the King, is a sufficient Vindication of his Honour and Intentions. *As I can no longer,* says his Lordship, *joyn with such to give a Pretence by Conquest, to bring their unhappy Design against your Majesty's true Interest and the Protestant Religion to effect, so I will always with the hazard of my Life and Fortune (so much your Majesty's due) endeavour to preserve your Royal Person and Lawful Rights, with all the tender Concern and Dutiful Respect that becomes, &c.*

What dependence there is to be made on the Temporary Compliances of a *Popish* King, we may see by the Priest's Account of King James's consenting at last to call a Free Parliament. He writes thus, *The King's Condition was such, that he could refuse no means for putting a stop to a Revolution which then seem'd unavoidable. In this Distress he resolved to call a Parliament.* Undoubtedly King James's Double Dealing in that and other Matters was very

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Impolitick, and has given too just an Idea of Popish Sincerity, ever to trust to it any more. In his Fright, upon News of the Prince of *Orange's* Preparations, he sent the Bishop of *Winchester* to recal Dr. *Hough*, the President, and the ejected Fellows of *Magdalen's* College in *Oxford*; but hearing the *Dutch* Fleet had suffer'd in a Storm, and it being represented a great deal worse than it was, insomuch, that it was said the Prince would not be able to come till Spring, the Bishop was recall'd, and ten Days afterwards, upon advice that he was sail'd again, his Lordship had second Orders to do that Work, which he went through with. This Management was so very foolish, that I wonder his Friends could expect any Thing better from such Councils than what happen'd to him.

It was the same with his Professions of calling a Free Parliament, with revoking all Writs of *Quo Warranto*, and restoring Corporations, and the other Methods he pretended to take for redressing of Grievances. In all which there was no certainty because the Dispensing Power was still defended: The Bishop of *London's* Sentence tho remitted, was not declar'd Illegal. The Charters were restor'd but still subject to *Quo Warranto's*; and as to the promis'd Parliament, though it was after granted, when the Army had deserted, and almost all the Nation declared for the Prince; so dreadful it was to meet them, that the abandoning the

2 F 2 Throne



Throne was more eligible than the fight of that Assembly.

At the same time, says the Jesuit, *that the King issued out Writs for a Parliament, he deputed the Lords Hallifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin to the Prince of Orange, to let him know he should have Satisfaction, and that there should be such a Free Parliament as he desired.* This Commission was not at all to the Prince's liking, if you will believe the French Priest; but his own excellent Reflections will divert the Reader better. *No thinking Man ever believ'd the Prince of Orange so fond of the English, as that he would secure their Liberties at so great an Expence and Trouble, whereas it was more his Interest to overthrow them, being the next Heir to the Crown after the Prince of Wales.* Was there ever plainer Dealing than this? Does he not tell us with wonderful Frankness, that in his poor Judgment it is the Interest of every Prince to overthrow the Liberties of the People he is to govern. Again, *The Reception he gave that Prince's Deputies, convinc'd such as had least in them of Suspicion that his Design lay quite another way. He not liking the calling a Parliament, he held on his march, and gave no Answer to the Deputies sent to him, till he was near enough to London, to awe those who were not wholly come into his Design. There he spoke so haughtily, and offer'd his Majesty such intollerable Terms, that the Monarch being also privately informed by one of his Three Deputies, that there was no security for his Person in any part of the Kingdom,*  
thought

thought fit to give way to the Iniquity of the Times, and go seek a Sanctuary in the Arms of that same Friend, whose Assistance he had refus'd. The Jesuit, as I said, tells you he discours'd with King James about his History as long as he could wish; and every one of those Facts is as false as Fiction could make them. The Prince of Orange gave Audience to the King's Commissioners at Hungerford the 8th of December, and sent them his Answer the next Day from Littlecot in Wiltshire, an ancient Seat of the Pophams, famous in Old Times for their English Principles. The Commissioner's Proposals were,

*To refer all to a Free Parliament.*

*To treat for adjusting Matters for the Freedom of Elections.*

*To keep both Armies at a due distance from London.*

Instead of marching forwards, or delaying an Answer, the Prince was at that time at a great distance from London, and only took a few Hours to consult his Friends, and by their Advice his Answer was,

*That all Papists be disarm'd and remov'd from Places.*

*That all Proclamations reflecting on him and his Friends be recall'd, and those imprison'd discharg'd.*

*That the Tower and Tilbury Fort be put into the Hands of the City.*

*That the King and the Prince be at an equal distance from London, with equal Guards and the Armies forty Miles off.*

*That Money be assign'd for the Payment of his Troops till the Parliament sits.*

*That no French Troops be receiv'd, and Portsmouth put into such Hands as they both should think fit.*

This Answer was sent away by an Express to the King the next Day, the 10th of *December*, and early that Morning at Three a Clock the Queen and the Child went to *Gravesend*, and embark'd for *France*. Now the King could have no Account of the Prince's Answer; he could not know his Terms, nor could one of his Deputies tell him his Person was not safe, before he resolv'd to fly to the *French King's Arms*. For *Father Orleans* owns himself, *That the King had before promis'd the Queen to follow the next Day, and that according to that Promise, she waited for him at Calais*. Such is the Liberty of Popish Zeal, that for making the best of a bad Cause, there is no Falshood so flagrant of which they may not make use. Besides, the Fact being so shamefully false, and consequently all the wicked Reflections on his late Majesty, the Prince's Answer was very fair, and very moderate, considering the Danger the Nation was in, and the Provocation he and they had met with. This was *King James's Sentiments* of it when he was at *Whitehal*, and how *St. Germain's* chang'd

chang'd him in other things, may be imagin'd by this. I shall not build any thing on Tradition or Report, even at that Time, but repeat the Words of a Letter to a Bishop, publish'd at that Juncture. When his Majesty receiv'd this Letter he could not but give this just Character the Prince's Proposals, that they were fairer than he could or did expect. Upon which the Gentleman who wrote the Letter to the Bishop, argues thus, so that he had no Reason then to be affraid of his Person, but might have continu'd with Security in his Palace, and taken Care of the Government, and call'd such a Parliament, as both himself and the Prince desir'd; which might have quietly and effectually settled the Nation, and prevented all Mischief to his Person or to his Affairs: But it is very plain he was not willing to continue King on the Terms the Laws requir'd, nor to be kept on his Throne by redressing Grievances, which would have render'd him an useless Ally to his Friend of *France*, and probably have oblig'd him to comply with the general Bent of his People, and have vindicated the Liberties of *Europe*, which the *French* King was attempting to destroy. The same Day that he receiv'd this fair Answer, as he himself call'd it, he order'd those Writs for the sitting of the Parliament that were not sent to be burnt, and a Caveat to be enter'd against making use of those that were. He was also so far from stay-



ing to consult his Deputies, that he withdrew the next Morning at Three a Clock too, and left the Nation without a Head; but Nature and the Laws had given them a Right to supply his Place, and the ill Consequences of his Abdication were to himself. The Design of the King's going to *France* was form'd long before he thought of sending Deputies to the Prince of *Orange*, even when he was at *Salisbury*, as may be seen in the beforementioned Letter, which is to this purpose,

“ That whilst the King was busied at  
 “ *Salisbury*, the *Popish* Party seeing their  
 “ Affairs grew every day more Despe-  
 “ rate, began to employ all their Poli-  
 “ ticks to invent some Remedy for them,  
 “ and then first contriv'd the King's  
 “ withdrawing to *France*; which the Lord  
 “ *Dover* and Mr. *Brent* made no Secret  
 “ of, frequently saying. *The King would*  
 “ *withdraw himself out of the Kingdom a-*  
 “ *bove a Fortnight before he did*; nor were  
 “ those Persons the only two in the Se-  
 “ cret, and of this Opinion. But a Let-  
 “ ter was sent to the King while he was  
 “ there, *which can be produc'd*, says my  
 “ Author, wherein he was told it was  
 “ the Unanimous Advice of all the *Ca-*  
 “ *tholicks* at *London* that he should come  
 “ back from thence, and withdraw him-  
 “ self out of the Kingdom, to leave it  
 “ in Confusion, assuring him, that *within*  
 “ *two Years or less it would be in such Con-*  
 “ *fusion, that he might return and have his*  
 “ *Ends*

“ *Ends of it.* This divulging the Secret  
“ before-hand, did much abate the  
“ Wonder of it, when it happen’d, and  
“ dispos’d the Peers to a more speedy  
“ Resolution of securing the Nation from  
“ the Confusion they designed, and is  
“ a strong Proof the King withdrew vo-  
“ luntarily, and upon a design *to have*  
“ *his Ends of us.* The *Ends* a Popish King,  
a King of Arbitrary Principles, a Dis-  
penser with our Laws, and an Enemy to  
our Religion can have, is nothing else  
but to make us *Slaves* and *Idolaters*? And  
his pretended Son having never known  
a better Government than that of *France*,  
would doubtless think he us’d us very  
well, if after three or four and Twenty  
Years Rebellion we far’d no worse than  
the *French* do.

I do not follow the *Revolution* regularly,  
my Business now being only to make some  
Observations on the *French* Jesuit’s Hi-  
story, he having bragg’d whom he had  
his Helps from, that we may see his  
Memoirs were not the more Authentick  
for it.

As soon as the King had left *London*,  
and his Departure was known, the City  
was every where in Motion; the Incens’d  
Multitude fell upon the *Popish* Chappels,  
open’d in Defiance of so many Acts of  
Parliament. They demolish’d the Con-  
vent and Chappel at *St. Johns’s*, the Con-  
vent and Chappel in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*,  
the *Popish* Chappels in *Limestreet* and *Buck-  
lers-Bury*, and the Chappel at *Wild-House*.

They

They were scarce recover'd from the Terrors the Rumour of the *Irish* Ravages and Murders had put them into, his Majesty had been stop'd, pillag'd and insulted at *Faversham* in *Kent*, yet still the People of *England* were so Affectionately dispos'd to him, that if the *French* Priest could not write what was not true. When he came back to *London*, he was receiv'd there by the Multitudes with such Shouts, Acclamations and Expressions of Affections as can scarce be exprest. That was a Day of Triumph for him. No Men remembered he ever saw the like Ringing of Bells, Bonfires, and all Things used on the greatest Solemnities to testify Joy was now practised. The Truth of all which is just what an Historian who wrote of the Revolution two or three Months after it, says of it, it is fresh in my Memory and the Memories of Thousands.

Sunday about Five in the Evening the King return'd to *Whitehal* attended by one Troop of Grenadiers, and three Troops of Life-Guards, a set of Boys following him through the City, and making some Huzza's, while the rest of the People silently look'd on. Those Guards were sent by the Privy Council to see him safe on Ship board, or bring him back, as he should chuse himself, and were little enough, considering that his Majesty was the only *Roman Catholick* in *England* that could then boast of a Triumph.

The

The *French Priest* affects to make a Mystery of the most ordinary Accidents ; and because *Monfieur Zulestein*, when he was sent with a Letter to the King at *Rocheſter*, to deſire him to ſtay there, could not get thither before the King had left the Place, he informs us the Prince of *Orange* was extreemly troubled at the Miſcarriage of his Letter, in as much as it did not hinder King *James's* Return, which it was intended to do, as if the Prince would have then given him an Opportunity to leave the Kingdom ; in which, doubtleſs, all good *English Men* would heartily have joyn'd with him. Had he continu'd here, he muſt have perplex'd the Affair of the Revolution, and nothing elſe could have ſav'd us : No Treaty with a *Popiſh King* could have been any Security ; whatever had been done that way, would have been by Force, and the King would ſoon have declar'd himſelf diſcharg'd from any Obligations of that kind. The very firſt thing he did upon his coming to *Whitehal*, was to Publiſh a Proclamation in favour of the *Papiſts*, and releaſe a *Popiſh Biſhop* who had been Committed to *Newgate*. One of the Priests of the Court, ſent an Imperious Meſſage to the Earl of *Mulgrave*, then Lord Chamberlain, *To furniſh his Lodgings with New Furniture, for he means to continue in them ;* and his Maſteſty's Behaviour was ſuch, that it was ſaid he was *Politically invited back to Whitehal, with deſign to ruin him the more effectually, and without any Pity from his Pro- teſtant Subjects,*

Father



Father Orleans thinks he has an extraordinary Instance of King James's Condescension to shew us when he tells us he sent the Earl of Feversham to invite the Prince to come to St. James's, *allowing him to have his own Guards*, a very great Act of Goodness! Now his Army was Disbanded, all the Forts in England, except Portsmouth in the Prince's Hand, and London, and almost all the Peers, had submitted to him. The Committing of the Earl of Feversham Prisoner in Windsor Castle, has been much resented by the French Faction. The Jesuit says, *It shew'd plainly the Prince's Ends, and those of the Declaration were not the same*; yet he lets us know why the Earl was Confin'd, which is no where else mention'd, *for Disbanding the King's Army*; but does not tell us that it was for not *Disarming the Irish*, and doing what he did so rashly, that it caus'd great Disorders, which might easily have been prevented, by keeping them together till they were regularly dispos'd of, and paid. What was done by the Prince concerning the Letter that Lord brought him; he is not accountable for entirely, for that he immediately referr'd it to the Lords who were with him, and they concluded, *That the shortness of the Time could admit no better Expedient, than that the King might be desired to remove to some Place within a reasonable Distance from London*. Ham-House was pitch'd upon, and the Message carry'd by Three of those Lords, the Marquis of Halifax, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the Lord

Lord *Delamere*. The Prince acted in all things by the Advice of the Peers and Gentlemen who were with him, and took not one Step without it. It was they resolv'd to send his Guards to take Possession of the Posts about *Whitehal*; and had they not good Reason for it, when the Duke of *Grafton* had like to have been Assassinated by an *Irish* Trooper, as he was marching thro' the *Strand*, at the Head of a Foot Regiment of Guards, going by Order of Council, to take Possession of *Tilbury* Fort? There were Russians enough about the Court, to attempt the Life of the Prince in as desperate manner, and not to lay any stress on King *James*'s Permission at that that time, the Safety of the Prince's Person, on which so much depended, made all the Precautions taken by the Lords of the last necessity. This the *French* Man represents as transacted with the greatest Hurry and Violence. *The Prince Arrested the King's General, sent 2000 Men to drive away his Guards from Whitehal, and three Lords to turn him out of his Bed.* From which he infers, there was no Safety for him in *England*; whereas that whole Business was manag'd with as much Decency as the Nature of the thing would admit. The Lords came not in the Morning as he says, but at Night; neither did they awake the King, for he was not asleep; and what they said, was with all possible Respect and Humility, adding a Reason for the Kings Removal, which was for his own sake, to prevent the Mischiefs

chiefs that might happen by Disputes, between the Guards of Two Princes, at variance with one another, and the King was Master of the Place, and manner of his Removal, which was to *Rocheſter*, to be ready at the firſt Opportunity to eſcape to *France*. The Prince, ſays the Prieſt, ſaw into his Deſign, and winkt at it. The King ſure knew it as well as the Prince, and all the Advantages he might make of it: Why then did he contribute to it himſelf, by leaving the Kingdom? The true and only Cauſe of it muſt be, that he reſolv'd rather to be no King, than a King by the Laws of our Country; and to renounce his Kingdoms, rather than his Alliance with *France*, which would neceſſarily have been the Conſequence of a Free Parliament.

We have lately had a very Judicious Clamour, *What have we been Fighting for theſe Three Years? What Provinces or Cities are to be Ours on a Peace? The Dutch have all, we were but Seconds, and made our ſelves fooliſhly Principals in the War.* Notwithſtanding all which, nothing can be plainner, than that there is not one of the Confederates more a Principal than we. We fought for our Religion, Liberties, for our *All*, in fighting againſt King *James* and his Pretended Son; and the *French* do not ſtick to own, that his Quarrel was theirs. The Jeſuit calls the War in King *William's* Reign, *The War againſt King James*, and indeed ſo it was, which makes it ſo much a Grievance to thoſe that complain of it. It

It would have been very short in the Jesuit, if in railing against the Prince of Orange, he had not done the same against the Convention, and with the same Truth. *His Faction* he says, *got as many Members as they could return'd, that were favourable to to their Designs.* In the Temper the Nation then were, there could not have been an Assembly who would have favour'd them less; every one impatiently longing for a Settlement of the Government on its true *Basis* the Law; and that could not be under a King who had so long *Dispenc'd* with it, and still declar'd it to be his Right. Besides, it cannot be forgotten, that the Elections of the Members for the Convention, were carry'd on as an "Historian then writes, with the greatest  
"Liberty that could possibly be conceiv'd, every Man giving his Vote for  
"whom he pleas'd, without the least  
"Solicitation from the Prince, or any of  
"his. There had been twice Writs before  
"this time, for a Parliament in a few  
"Months, and almost every Place had  
"fix'd their Members; so that the Difference was not great between the Men  
"that were, and those that would have  
"been Chosen, if the King had suffer'd  
"the first or second Parliament he call'd,  
"to have met. This gives the truest  
"*Idea* that can be describ'd, of the Disposition of the Nation, and what would  
"have been the Event, if either of those  
"Parliaments had sat." And so far was the Prince from Countenancing any unwar-



warrantable Practices, to promote his Interest, that when he was inform'd of a Petition to the Convention, that was carry'd about the City for Hands to settle the Prince and Princess of *Orange* immediately on the Throne, he presently gave Directions to the Lord Mayor to suppress it, tho' it is probable there would have been more Hands and Hearts to it, than have been to all the Addresseees that have since been Artfully procur'd from the City.

To give the *Catholicks* Abroad the worse Opinion of the Proceedings of that Assembly, Father *Orleans* tells you, the first Question they put, was, *Whether a Catholick King was incapable of wearing the Crown?* Which Question came not into Debate at that time, and was afterwards determined by a Law in the Affirmative. I do not at all wonder, that a *French* Papist writing against our *Revolution*, should assert, *That the Hereditary Succession is the main Basis of the English Monarchy.* He had an Abdicated King to tell him so. All I admire at, is, that those who were the most concern'd in that Revolution, and who since have appear'd most Zealous for the *Hanover Succession*, should damn all that oppose the *Hereditary Succession*, and at the same time pretend to be of the same Principles they profess, when King *James* was Abdicated, and the Crown after King *William* and the Princess *Anne*, settled on a House, between whom and that Right, there are above Forty Princes and Princesses

cesses living. But we live in an Age when Contradictions are impos'd on us for Proof, and Nonsense for Argument. 'Tis my own Opinion, Her Majesty has as good an Hereditary Right as ever her Father had, because I look upon the Pretender to be what the Addressës to King *William* us'd to call him, a *Suppositious Impostor Prince*. What then? What makes him so, my Opinion, or any Man's Opinion, contrary to the Evidence of his Father and Mother? This will not admit of arguing upon; and had not a good Act of Parliament otherwise settled the Crown, it would be Treason to talk after this rate. All the Complement intended by those Honest Ingenious Persons, that started the asserting *Hereditary Principles* in a *Revolution Government*, was only to bring an *Odium* on the Revolution upon which it is founded; there being not a Man in *Britain*, of *Revolution Principles*, but is as Loyal to Her Majesty as the highest Asserter of the *Divine Right* of Succession. And how the latter agree in this with their Friends in *France*, Father *Orleans* shews us; where he argues against the *Original Compact*, with as much Reason as the late Council for the Condemn'd Doctor did. *As to the Pretended Compact between the Sovereign and the People, it is a Pernicious Chimæra, justly Condemn'd as opening a Gap for all Seditious Persons to raise Troubles.* Which Notable Reasoning, has been happily imitated by the Faction in *England*, contrary to the

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Vote of Lords and Commons, of the 28th of January, 1688.

Resolved,

*That King James II. having endeavoured to Subvert the Constitution of this Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract between King and People, &c. has Abdicated the Government.*

The Priesthood who Preach against this Doctrine, and has their *French* Brother to back them, in vain expose their Sacred Function, by their needless and groundless Flattery. There will always be found effectual Arguments to prove this Original Contract, when the necessity of doing it, is equal to what it then was; and 'tis not the Harangue of a Court Sophister, that will, in such a Case, make any Impression on the True Lovers of Liberty, who have that Doctrine written like that of the Deity in their Hearts, confirm'd by the Law of Nature.

If there was such a Chimerical Foundation in this *Original Compact*, How came it about, that the Church and Nation of *England*, could not find it out till they had liv'd Thirteen Years under a *Revolution King and Queen*, and Eight under a *Revolution Queen*; none having had the Impudence to oppose it, till the last mad Humour of Addressing. It was resolv'd, says the *French* Priest, to bestow the Title of King on the Prince of Orange, and still proceeding contrary to all the Rules of  
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*Hereditary Monarchies*, it was declar'd, *that in Case he surviv'd his Wife, he should continue King in wrong to the Princess of Denmark, who was Heiress to her Sister*; which Settlement, all the Parliaments of *England* ever since have recogniz'd; and Her Royal Highness the Princess, by a most Exemplary Obedience to it, after Queen *Mary's* Death; which makes the reviving the exploded Tenets of *Unalienable, Indefeazible*, and the like, as ridiculous as it is Insolent.

Among other Falsities in the Declaration, the Jesuit tells us the *Convention* drew up of Grievances in King *James's* Reign, and the Stipulations they made with the Prince, *It was agreed that a Parliament should be held every Three Years, which Term* continues he, *seem'd hard to a Prince who had Sense enough to foresee all the Consequences of them, and he is said to have been surpriz'd at it.* The Triennial Act did not pass till several Years after, and King *William* was not easily brought to assent to it then. Yet the Priest assures he did it before he was Proclaim'd, *in return for the Oaths of Fidelity to him and the Princess*, all which is a Romance: And whether he had it from King *James's* Memoirs, or his own Invention, the Authority of it is equal, and of the same Sanction with his affirming as he does again, *That only the Bishop of St. Asaph of the Seven Bishops, that had the Contest with King James, took the New Oaths*; for the Bishop of *Bristol* did it, and why the other Five did it not, has been already

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consider'd,



consider'd, as far as the Actions of Men Govern'd by Humour or Passion, are capable of it. The Jesuit pays a strict Homage to Truth in that part of his History, where he acknowledges, *The Prince did not come to Extremities with any Person on the Account of not Swearing to him, satisfying himself, with obliging all Catholicks and Nonjurors to pay double Taxes.* A very moderate Burden, for such as by their frequent Plots and Contrivances, encourag'd the Common Enemy to continue the War. Her present Majesty's Sentiments, of laying and levying it upon them, are founded on the best Reasons that any thing can be supported by. They are to be met with in Her Speech to the Parliament, of the 1st of April, 1708. immediately after the Pretender's Expedition to Scotland. I must recommend to you at your Return into your several Counties, to use your utmost Care and Diligence, in putting the Laws in Execution against Papists, and all others disaffected to my Government; and in making them pay towards the Publick Taxes, to the full of what the Law requires from them: Nothing being more Reasonable, than that they who by their Principles and Practices encourage, if not actually foment such Disturbances, should doubly contribute to the Charge of quieting them, and securing the Kingdoms Peace; and should know themselves on all such Occasions, to be responsible in the first Place, for the many Inconveniencies that may ensue.

If any one imagines the Foot we were upon, in King William and Queen Mary's Reign,

Reign, or consequently in Her Present Majesty, is not, in the Judgment of *Partis*, as much Rebellion, as that of our Ancestors in *Forty One*, the good Father, who writ the *History of the Revolution* by King *James's* Assistance, will give him full Satisfaction to the contrary. For speaking of the King and Queens being own'd in *Scotland*, as well as in *England*, and that the Throne had been declar'd vacant there too. He adds, *There were brave Men enough that escap'd being Imprison'd, to disturb the Rebels, and have put a Stop to the Revolution, had they been ever so little supported from Abroad, as the Duke of Gordon, the Viscount Dundee, the Earl of Dumferling, the Lord Dunkeld, Collonel Canon, and other Montrossies of that Time, who kept the Field long with the Loyal Highlanders, the Constant Refuge of the Kings in Times of Rebellion.* Such he made the State of our Allegiance, with respect to King *James*; and there's no Body thought so then, that looks upon us to be in a more Loyal One now, with reference to the Pretender, which makes the Superlative Addressee one of the greatest Farces that was ever Play'd on the Stage of the World. And yet how wonderful were the Effects of 'em not long since. By the Jesuit's Representation of the Revolution in *Scotland*, one would think it was brought about with the utmost Difficulty, and had but a slender Majority to support it, whereas in Truth, notwithstanding the desperate Attempts of *Gordon* and *Dundee*, King *William* and Queen *Mary*

were advanc'd to the Sovereignty of that Kingdom, with more Unanimity than in this; tho' he says, *The Revolt went on more slowly*. But our Histories shew the Scots Lords and Gentlemen were as quick as the English, in their Solemn Declaration for the Prince of Orange's taking on him the Government; which was as much a Revolt, and as much a Rebellion, as the Proclaiming him King. For those of them that were in London, took but Ten Days time to know the Opinion of their Friends in Scotland, and then drew up an Address to the Prince of Orange, of the same Nature as that drawn up by the Lords and Gentlemen at Westminster, which was Sign'd by Thirty Scots Lords and Eighty Gentlemen, and Presented by the Duke of Hamilton. The then Earl of Arran, who accompany'd King James in his last Journey to Rochester, from whence he fled to France, was, it seems, come back to Town, by the time the Scots Lords and Gentlemen met, and was the only Man in all the Assembly, who gave Advice, *That the Prince of Orange should be mov'd to desire the King to return, and call a Free Parliament, for the securing our Religion and Property, according to the known Laws of the Kingdom, which (said he) is the best way to heal all our Breaches*. This was disgusted by all, and some Lords, particularly the Earls of Crawford and Louthian, who were not present when the Address to the Prince, about Assuming the Government, was Sign'd, desir'd afterwards they might set their Names to it. In a word,

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the best and greatest Men of that Nation, as well as the Major Part of it, fell early and heartily in with the *Revolution*; and the Earl of *Arran* himself, did not afterwards refuse a higher Title from his Majesty King *William*, which would have come to him by *Hereditary Succession*, had he had Patience till his Mother's Death. This Power to continue King *James* on the *Scots* Throne, when he was outed of that of *England*, is only a *Gasconade* of the Jesuits, to give an Opportunity to call the *Scots* Rebels. The Earl of *Arran*'s Advice, tho' so unanimously rejected by his Countrymen, had all the *Papists* and their Emissaries of its side. The Author of the *Desertion discuss'd*, written by one of the most Zealous of the Faction, declares for it in the following Paragraph, *Those who were the Occasion of his Majesty's Departure, should (one would think) have waited upon him, and invited him back. For without question, the injuring Person ought to make the first step to an Accommodation, especially when the wrong is done to his own Prince. We should have beg'd his Pardon for taking it ill at his Hands, that he endeavour'd to subject us to Popery and Slavery. We should have assur'd him of no such Murmurs for the future; that we were sorry for what had happen'd, and were ready to be whatever he pleas'd to make us. This would probably have given Content to those who were for sending for him again; nothing less would have given him Content, as was plain by his refusing all Methods of Ac-*



commodation which had not a Reserve for Liberty to *Papists* to Exercise their Religion, and Old Offices of Trust, and for his *Dispensing Power*. I make no doubt but King *James* might have kept the Possession of his Dominions, on the Terms often propos'd to him, especially the Ten Proposals made by the Bishops, the calling a Free Parliament, the renouncing his Alliance with *France*, and the detesting the Juggle of the Pretender. But his Honour and his Religion would have been so much expos'd by the latter, his Friend the *French* King, by his Allying against *France*, his Friends the Catholics, by his Calling a Free Parliament, and all of them, by his agreeing to the Bishops Proposals, that he could not resolve to Rule on such mean Conditions, and therefore his Abdication is as strong as if it had been with all the Forms practis'd by Sovereign in those Cases. I shall soon have done with Father *Orleans*, the only Historian the Faction in *Britain* can boast of. The rest that have written against the Revolution, being already forgotten, as would this Writer have sooner been, had not he given an Authority to his History, by pretending 'tis King *James's*. He highly extols the Courage and Loyalty of the *Irish* Nation, as the Soundest Part of the British Dominions, forgetting how Common Shame oblig'd him to Condemn their Rebellion and Cruelty in 1641. The Turn he gives it is remarkable, *The Irish Catholics*, says he, *oppress'd by the English Protestants, had laid*  
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*bold of the Opportunity of their Confusions, to shake off the Yoke; and having Conspir'd against them with wonderful Secrecy, after Slaughtering a great Number of them, had almost made themselves Masters of the Island.* Never were the Papists in a more Flourishing Condition than at that Juncture since the Reformation had any Ground in Ireland. The Earl of Strafford, their last Governor, had on all Occasions shewn them distinguishing Marks of his Trust and Affection, and recommended them to the King's good Graces. The poor Protestants were so far from being the Oppressors, that nothing was more complain'd of, than the Oppression themselves met with; and the Phrase of *shaking off the Yoke*, is much too soft for so Bloody a Rebellion, which he himself is pleas'd to say, was *Opposite to the Spirit of the Church*; tho' the Head of it the Pope, encourag'd it by the Presence of his Minister in the Army of the Rebels. The Loyalty of the *Irish* to all *English* Kings, but King *James*, may be seen in our *English* History, there having hardly been a Reign since the Conquest of that Island by *Henry II.* in which they have not Rebell'd. And it is far from being an Honour to King *James*, that those People who had been Rebels to all his Predecessors, Popish and Protestant, should receive such Countenance from him, as to be fond of his Government. It is no great matter, that the *French* Jesuit, to lessen the Disgrace of the Kings Defeat at the *Boyne*, makes King *William's* Army more than twice the  
Number

Number of King James's 45000 *English* to 20000 *Irish*. Now the odds were just so much on the other side, and King James's Terror was such, that the very *Irish* could not help censuring him, saying to some of King William's Soldiers who had taken them Prisoners, *That if they would Exchange Kings, they would Fight the Battel over again, and did not doubt of beating them.* Notwithstanding K. James's Forces, according to the Jesuit, were but 20000 to 45000, and that K. William, besides the advantage of Number, had Two such Generals, as that King and Mareschal Schombergh to lead them. Yet so great a Commander was K. James, if he tells us Truth, that had his Orders been obey'd, *It might not have been impossible for him to have succeeded better.* However, he was so intrepid, that the Count De Lauzun could scarce prevail on him to retire in Time, which he did, says the Priest, *and the Count retreated in good Order, and very Honourably, with all his Army, taking advantage of the Enemies Confusion.* For great Faults do the Jesuit and his Party, impute to King William, in the management of that Glorious Day, and the Pursuit of his Victory. *They blame him for not coming sooner to Dublin, whether he sent the Duke of Ormond, who took Possession of it immediately after King James left it.* They charge him with Negligence, in not cutting off King James's Army from Gallway and Limerick, though they were more Numerous than his own after the Battel. But the greatest Reason they have to be angry with him, is certainly,

tainly his pressing them with so much speed and fury at the *Boyne*, which so broke the Strength and Courage of the *Irish*, that there was Conquest after Conquest by the *English*, till the whole Kingdom was reduc'd, which the *French* Historian says, it had not been, if it had lain as conveniently *to be relieved by France as it was to be invaded by England, for which so many Nations were fighting.* The *Frenchman* has a right Notion of Matters; it was indeed for *England* that the Emperor, *Germany*, *Spain* and *Holland* were fighting, while we forsooth, if you will believe our State Writers, were foolishly involving our selves as Principals in a War, in which we should only have engag'd as Seconds, while we were spending our Money and our Blood for the *Dutch*, when we should have continu'd in Peace, which we could not have done without taking our old King again; and that 'tis true some are sorry we did not do, and would now have us take the Son, to prove, that we have been these twenty Years fighting, as they say, for nothing.

The Jesuit in the same Page hints a little of a Conspiracy which was form'd against King *William* and Queen *Mary* in the Year 1690, when the Earl of *Torrington* was worsted at *Beachy-Head*; and there was a Plot in *England* to receive the Abdicated King and a *French* Army, much like that to which the Assassination Plot was added three or four Years afterwards.



terwards. Those who knew the Design, says he, that mov'd the King to make such haste out of Ireland, might add to all this, that he had thought of a Diversion which would have set the Prince of Orange hard, had not one only Circumstance whereon it depended, disappointed it. The same Cant was used in Charnock's Plot. To make a Diversion in England by attacking the Prince of Orange in his Winter Quarters, and the setting the King hard must doubtless be the same Usage the Assassins intended him. For his Majesty was in no likelihood of being otherwise put to it by his Competitor in England: That the French King made War upon the Confederates meerly to restore King James and secure England to himself, in order to his Enslaving all Europe, will appear in many Places of Father Orleans's History, and in none more than in the Conclusion. It was for the Honour of the King, under whom I write this History, to add to those Titles which have given him the Name of the Great, that of supporting so good a Cause alone, and making the Justice of it known by winning pitch'd Battels, by the Conquest of several Provinces, and the strongest Places in the World reduc'd under his Empire, notwithstanding all the Efforts of so many Potentates. How grateful we have lately shewn our selves to those Potentates, let Posterity judge, and whether we have had no Concern upon us to engage in both the Wars with France since the Revolution; since without them, and the Help of all our Allies, our hated, insulted,

sulted, and abandon'd Confederates to the *French* King's other Glorious Titles, had been added that of restoring King *James II.*, or King *James III.*, to the Throne of these Kingdoms; of rooting out Heresy, re-establiſhing the Catholick Religion, and destroying the Liberty of a Nation who has preserv'd that of *Europe*, by the many Victories She has so eminently contributed to obtain by the Arms of Her Sovereign, under Her most Wise and most Victorious General the Duke of *Marlborough*: A Name that will do Honour to any *English* History, when Remembrance shall be a Curse to his Enemies.

I am not apprehensive that these Passages out of Father *Orleans's* History will be disagreeable to the Curious Reader when he knows that it was probably written by King *James's* Command, and from his own Memoirs, which he communicated to the Priest in the Conversation he had frequently with him. There is no Event nor Reflection of Moment which I have not fully consider'd and leave it now to the World to judge what Credit is to be given to the Relations of *Papish* Priests and Bigots, or their Abettors, who for these two or three Years have outdone the Examples set them by the *Papists*.

I shall in the next Place endeavour to prove from our own Story, that this Nation is indebted for the Revolution to those  
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Men, and that Order of Men who set themselves at this time to blacken and condemn it. That in short we owe it to the Resentment of the Church of *England*, for the many Injuries done her, and Indignities put upon her : That some who have cry'd up *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*, were those who did then Resist, and that without such Resistance from the Church we had lost our Religion and Liberty. I take this to be the easiest way to confute the Arguments made use of by the Press and the Pulpit to favour those Doctrines, which were never practis'd by those who advance them, when their Loyalty and their Interest were render'd incompatible. In prosecuting this, I shall touch only upon such Facts as are unquestionable for their Truth, and rarely to be met with if at all in any other Memoirs but these,

I am satisfy'd that after the King had suppress'd *Monmouth's* Rebellion, and the Parliament were Loyal to him out of Affection as well as Duty, if he had not insisted on employing Papists, if he had complimented the Church, and encourag'd the hot Men of it to continue their Persecution of Dissenters, *He might have walk'd us out of our Religion and Liberties*, as it is said *Shaftsbury* us'd to say he would do by King *Charles* and his Kingdom. When the Dissenters had been ruin'd, and the Catholics had none to contend with but their Persecutors, it is to be fear'd the Active Zeal of those Bigots would not

easily have been turn'd into *Passive*, but they would rather have chosen to part with the Profession of Religion, than have suffer'd for it, what they had made others to suffer. It would not then have been in the Power of the truly Pious and Moderate Sons of the Church to have hinder'd the setting up Popery; and King James's haste to effect it was not only blam'd by the Court of Rome, but even by the Court of France; for a good Author of that Nation publish'd in Print at that time, *That their Court never approv'd of the false Methods of King James, but declar'd openly there was never any thing less Judicious than his Conduct; that he had always follow'd blind Councils, which were very pernicious to his Repose and Safety. That he had undertaken very imprudently to destroy the Protestant Religion, which was that of the State. That he made use of a Rigour which was not well understood, both against the Bishops and Universities: That it was a great Folly in him to desire the repeal of the Tests and Penal Laws, which the English esteem'd the Sanctuary of their Nation: That his Affection for the Court of Rome, and the Monks he desired to restore, was ridiculous and stupid; and that his attempting to give the Employments to the Papists, which he had ravished from the Protestants, had given just Cause to all the Members of the State to complain of his Injustice; which perhaps were more the Sentiments of the Author than of the Court he speaks of.*

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However it is certain there were some in that Court and Kingdom, who thought *he was over Zealous for the Catholick Church*, which his Flatterer the *French Priest* cannot help mentioning though he does his utmost to excuse him. He confesses, that had his Majesty been less a Bigot, he might have been as happy a Monarch as any in *Christendom*, and truly such was the general Disposition of the People of *England*, to submit to his Government, that a little Moderation would have brought them to his Pleasure. *All things*, says the Jesuit, *seem'd to promise him a settled Felicity ; great Enemies conquer'd and destroy'd, a Victorious Army on Foot, the Great Men and Commons not only Submissive, but vying in Duty ; all Foreign Princes courting his Friendship, and looking on him as the Arbitrator of all Differences in Europe. All these seem'd to be something more than bare Omens of a Peaceful and happy Reign, and they must infallibly have been so, had not King James been a Catholick.* Infallibly it had been, if besides being a Catholick, he had not been enflam'd by an Excess of Zeal for his Religion, and had not his Wife, and her Creatures, still kept him hot in his Design to establish it in *Great Britain and Ireland*. Infallible had his Happiness been, had that Zeal been accompany'd with equal Judgment, he might then have foreseen that it was impossible to impose his Religion on a People bred up with an invincible Hatred to it, and that when he offer'd to en-

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croach on the Rights and Properties of the Clergy, *Nature would Rebel against Principle*, and of the Happiest he would become one of the most Miserable Princes in *Christendom*, as indeed he was, if to live on another's Alms, and in perpetual Dependence, may be reckon'd Misery.

King James had Advice given him Fifteen Years before, that he must not trust to the Loyalty of those Churchmen, who preaching up the Divine Right, and the Unbounded Prerogative of the Crown, tempted him to put it to the Tryal; for the Bishop of Salisbury says, in his Speech to the Lords on *Sacheverell's* Business, speaking of the Doctrine of *Non-Resistance*: "I found the ill Effects, that the carrying this Matter so far had on the Mind of that unfortunate Prince King James; for in the Year 1673, when he was pleased to admit me to much freedom in Conversation with him, amongst many other Things, I told him, It was impossible for him to Reign in Quiet in this Nation, being of that Religion; He answer'd me quick, *Does not the Church of England maintain the Doctrine of Non-Resistance and Passive Obedience?* I begg'd of him not to depend on that, for there was a Distinction in that Matter, that would be found out when Men thought they needed it.

Thus it was from that Quarter his Danger first came, as it was that Quar-

ter he first attack'd, and could not do his Business without it. His erecting the Ecclesiastical Commission Court offended all the Church Clergy; and Applications were made upon it, even then to the Prince and Princess of *Orange*; his suspending the Bishop of *London*; his Endeavours to impose *Francis* on the University of *Cambridge*, and *Gifford* on that of *Oxford*; his obliging the Clergy to read the Declaration of Liberty to Papists and Fanaticks were so many Impolitick Steps, the least of which made him a hundred thousand Enemies, and put all the old Lessons of Loyalty out of the Minds of the People, preparing them to accept the first Deliverance which was offer'd them.

Before I enter upon the History of the Revolution, to shew that we owe it to the very Persons, whose pretended Principles make it Rebellion, I shall say a Word or two of the Prince of *Orange*, our Deliverer, who had all his Life-time been the Object of the *French King's* Jealousy and Hatred; as if he foresaw, that the Wisdom, Courage and Constancy of that Hero would ruin all his Projects for the Universal Monarchy. Nor did the Court of *France* shew their Enmity to him only. They began it to his Father, upon which a Famous Author writes thus;

“ The Conduct of the late Cardinal  
 “ *Mazarine* deserves Admiration in all  
 “ Respects, but the Measures he observ'd  
 “ himself, and left to his Master-  
 “ his

“ his Death, with Respect the Fami-  
“ ly of *Orange*, seems to have proceeded  
“ from a wonderful Foresight that no-  
“ thing then in Being could Naturally  
“ lead him to. It was the young Prince  
“ of *Orange*, now King of *England*, then  
“ under the lowest Circumstances of  
“ his Fortunes, and at a time when no-  
“ thing could be expected to make them  
“ better but a Miracle, that this great  
“ Politician employ'd a vast share of his  
“ Thoughts to keep him low and to  
“ strengthen and protect a Faction that  
“ had made him so.

“ During the first Years of his Mi-  
“ nistry, the Prince of *Orange*, it is  
“ true, was in a Condition to give Jeal-  
“ ously to the Court of *France* in the  
“ Person of a brave designing Prince,  
“ who was not only in Possession of all  
“ the Places his Ancestors had enjoy'd in  
“ a mighty Commonwealth, but was  
“ plac'd near the Lustre of a Crown by  
“ marrying a Daughter of *England* : But  
“ this Rising Sun was soon set, and Death  
“ put a stop to his Hereditary Thirst of  
“ Glory in the very beginning of his Ca-  
“ reer, leaving a Son yet unborn to  
“ wrestle with the Misfortunes of a sink-  
“ ing Family. It was then indeed that  
“ the House of *Nassau* deserv'd rather  
“ the compassionate Regards of all the  
“ Princes of Christendom than to be the  
“ Object of their Envy and Fear. Then  
“ it was that a House that had eter-  
“ niz'd its Name by raising a great and



“ rich Republick out of a small Skirt of  
 “ the *Spanish* Dominions, and under whom  
 “ all the Nations of *Europe* came to learn  
 “ the Art of War, for a hundred Years  
 “ together, underwent an Eclipse, and  
 “ such a one as in the Opinion of all  
 “ the World was to put an end for ever  
 “ to its wonted Lustre. The young  
 “ Prince his Son came into the World  
 “ dispossess’d of all the great Offices and  
 “ Power his Ancestors had born in  
 “ that State, and the same unlucky  
 “ Scene that had usher’d him in, con-  
 “ tinu’d to bear him Company till  
 “ the Two and twentieth Year of his  
 “ Age, &c.

In his Tenth the *French* King seiz’d  
 his Principality of *Orange*, and during  
 his Minority, thought one of the best  
 Ministers he had could not be better  
 employ’d than on an Embassy in *Holland*,  
 to cultivate his Friendship with *De Wit*,  
 the Profest Enemy of the House of *Orange*,  
 and prevent the Prince’s Succession  
 to the Dignities and Offices of his An-  
 cestors. King *Charles* and the Duke of  
*York*, taking no manner of Notice of that  
 King’s seizing their Nephew’s Patrimony,  
 which is to me a convincing Proof of the  
 close Alliance between them, and that  
 it was of much older Date than the  
 Dutchess of *Orleans* their Sister’s Voyage  
 to *Dover*. Inexpressible are the Inhuman-  
 ities which the *French* King’s Officers com-  
 mitted in *Orange*, where they levell’d the  
 Stately

Stately Cittadel erected by Prince *Maurice*, which was one of the most Magnificent Monuments of that Prince's Greatness. Five Years were these Ravages committed in that City and Principality, and it was then restor'd to the Prince its Sovereign, whose Servant Monsieur *Zulestein*, took Possession of it in the Year 1665.

He First attempted to gain him by Flattery and fair Promises, offering in the Year 1672, when he kept his Court at *Utrecht*, and the City of *Amsterdam* heard the Noise of his Guns to make him Sovereign of *Holland*, which the Prince refus'd with Scorn, his Soul being too great to build his Fortunes on the Ruins of his Country. The *French King* who had indeed been the true Master of the United Provinces, had the Prince accepted of the Name, enrag'd that he did not, possess himself of the Principality of *Orange*, the King of *England* looking on. Though it was afterwards restor'd by an Express Article of the Treaty of *Nimeghen*, in the Year 1678, and though King *Charles* was declar'd Guarantee of that Treaty, yet the continual Encroachments of the Neighbouring Troops of *Provence*, with the Intrigues of the Popish Bishop of *Orange* and his Party, render'd daily the Condition of the Prince's Subjects more and more uneasy, till at last in the Year 1682, it being then a time of profound Peace, the *French King* by force

H 3

made

made himself once more Master of *Orange*, and his Soldiers acted Barbarities there unparallel'd in any Reign but his own.

To give some sort of Colour to this Violence, he caus'd a Process to be commenc'd by the Prince of *Conde* against the Prince of *Orange*, who in the *Breve* was so Contemptuously treated, as to be term'd *Messire William, Count of Nassau, living at Amsterdam in Holland*; and in another still more Scornfully, *Burgher of the Hague*. Judgment was given in favour of the Prince of *Conde*, as Administrator to the Duke of *Longueville*, who pretended to a Right to that Principality, which was indisputably in his Majesty, as Heir to the House of *Chalon*, and the Possession of it had been above a hundred Years in his Family. The Murders and Depredations committed there by the *French King's* Orders, were doubtless an Effect of his Hatred to the Prince; and the Reader will not be displeas'd with a Digression which so lively represents the Desolation of a Country whose Prince did such Wonders for the Preservation of our Liberties, and the Liberties of *Europe*. It is taken from a Treatise written by *Monsieur Chambrun*, a Gentleman of *Orange*, and publish'd at the *Hague*, in the Year 1688. The Author of which might say, as *Aeneas* in *Virgil*.

—Quos

Quos ipse miserrime vidi,  
Et Quorum Pars magna fui.

Behold, says he, the dismal Cruelties acted upon my Country: This City so famous by the Greatness of its Princes, is now nothing but a dismal Heap, where one cannot enter without treading upon its Ruins. She is at this Day a Doleful Monument of Cruelty and Injustice, I cannot perswade my self, that the Ruins of Troy and Carthage, were more terrible than those I have mentioned since to one that beholds them at a Distance; they appear the Habitation of Ostriches and Owls. If Posterity shall inquire the Causes of this horrid Destruction, as certainly it must, the Account that shall be given of it, will, no doubt, tend to the Dishonour of France. History will not forget to hand down to succeeding Ages, the Heroick Virtues of our Prince, when she comes to relate the Ruins of his Territories, and the Misery of his Subjects; and when they shall understand that the Justice, the Sincerity, the Courage, the Valour, and Indefatigable Care of maintaining the Liberty of Europe, were the only Motives that induc'd the French King thus to treat an Illustrious Prince, they will doubtless say, that this has been the most dismal and most corrupted of all Ages, since that which ought to have been the Admiration of Kings, was the Object of their Hate and Aversion. If this Great Prince would have consented to the overturning of the Government of his Country, as he was earnestly courted so to do, if he would have taken Part with those that aim'd



at the enslaving of Europe. In a word, if he would have betray'd his Country, and broken Faith with his Allies, he might have mounted the Throne then offer'd him ; but because he lov'd his Country better than his Interest, and preferr'd his Honour to the richest Advantages, and the Liberty of Europe, to a Crown, his Glorious Actions were regarded with Hatred, and attended with the most unjust Treatments. But though this Conduct has been blam'd in all the Courts of Europe, yet nothing has been done to oppose it ; and I am forc'd to say, 'tis the Shame of all Christendom, to have suffer'd a great Prince so often to expose his Life with the greatest Bravery for its Good and Liberty, and at the same time to abandon his Interest with the most unaccountable Neglect. England was oblig'd to protect and assist this Prince ; not only as being Guarantee of the Treaty of Nimeghen, but from a Principal of Blood and Alliance : And indeed what Honour can accrue to England, to see a Sovereignty wrested by unjust Violence, from a Prince who had Married the Heiress of Three Kingdoms. As for me, I cannot think of the Desolations of my Country, without saying amidst my Tears with the Prophet, How does the City sit solitary, Is it nothing to you, all you that pass by ? In short, Is it possible that a Man that loves his God, his Religion, and his Prince, could behold with dry Eyes so many Ruins as I saw in the Principality of Orange since ;

Hic Seges est ubi Troja fuit.

Indeed

Indeed the *French King* has ever shew'd a Personal Hatred against King *William*, both before and since he wore a Crown, and tho' he has been some times forc'd to confess Honourable Things of him himself, yet nothing can be more ungrateful to him than to hear others do so, of which there happen'd a notable Instance, with Reference to the late Prince of *Conde*. This Magnanimous Prince, whom of all *France* the King fear'd most, as one who had very near hurl'd him down from his Throne, when he was supported by those very Protestants, whom he has since requited with Gallies, Gallows and Banishments. The Prince of *Conde*, I say, having been pleas'd publickly in the *French King's* Presence to praise the Prince of *Orange's* Conduct and Valour at his first Appearance on the Stage, in putting a stop to the Irruptions of the *French* into *Holland* in the Year 1672, and saying, among other things of him, *That he had given early Proofs of his being worthy of his Ancestors*. The *French King* was so strangely nettled at the Expression, and so impatient to hear the young Prince of *Orange* commended, That he answer'd the first Prince of his Blood in a Passion, *And so are you, Cousin, worthy of one of your Ancestors, who dy'd in Rebellion against one of mine*. This Repartee was the more extraordinary, and shew'd the greater Prejudice in the *French King* against the then dawning Glory of the Prince of *Orange*; for that the very Week before he

he had patiently put up one of the greatest Affronts the Prince of *Conde* could possibly do him. The King and the Prince were at Cards together, and the Prince out of Humour at his Loosing, happen'd to strike a *Louis d'Or* against the Table, which *Louis d'Or* being accidentally of Glass, broke in Pieces, whereat the Prince cry'd out in a Heat, *Serons nous toujours ruines par ces fauxes Louis ?* Which Words in the French Idiom is almost the same as if he had spoken in the singular Number, *Shall we always be ruin'd by a Counterfeit Lewis ?* The French King, though he could not by his Countenance dissemble his Concern at so ill Natur'd a Reflection, yet he seem'd to take it as spoken in another Sense, by saying to Monsieur *Colbert*, who stood by, *Pray take Care for the future, that the Prince have no reason to Complain of Counterfeit Money.*

Nor is it only against this Prince that the French, and their Friends, have extended their Rage : They have fal'n upon his Illustrious Race, the most Productive of Heroes of any in Europe. One of their Libellers in England, writing at once against Archbishop *Tillotson*, Bishop *Patrick*, Bishop *Burnet*, Dr. *Sherlock*, Dr. *Wake*, Dr. *Fleerwood*, all of them but Dr. *Sherlock* then or since Prelates of our Church for vindicating the Honour of their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary* in their Sermons, speaks thus slanderously of the House of *Orange*, *That they had been concerned in all the Rebellions in Europe, and sometimes fought*

sought and sometimes run away, as they found occasion. And this because the Archbishop said in one of his Sermons; " There  
" never was a Family on Earth so much  
" Honour'd to give a Check to all the  
" Aspiring Monarchs of the *West*, and  
" bold Attempters of the Liberties of  
" *Europe*, as if the Princes of this Va-  
" liant and Victorious Line had been of  
" the Race of *Hercules*, born to rescue  
" Mankind from Oppression, and to  
" quell Monsters. But to show how  
wicked by the Friends of *France* were  
bent to vilify King *William*; what Malice  
they bore him for his being the great  
great Assister of *Europe's* Liberties, it  
will be sufficient to repeat a Paragraph  
of that vile Scribbler, whose Impunity is  
an unhappy Instance of the Lenity of that  
Government, which depending on the  
Justice of its Cause, and the Reason of  
its Actions, shew'd a too great Con-  
tempt of Slander and Calumny. He  
endeavour'd, says he, speaking of King  
*William* when Prince and King, to advance  
himself by Fraud and Forgery, Perfidiousness  
and Treachery. He at his first setting out, ad-  
vanc'd himself to a High Post in his own Coun-  
try, by Perjury, in taking upon him the Office  
of Stadtholder, which he had Sworn he would  
not take, and by Murdering Two of the best  
Patriots of his Country for opposing it. He,  
while he Courted the Daughter, was undermi-  
ning the Father, and laying Trains to deprive  
him of his Birthright. He has ever since har-  
bour'd Rebels and Malecontents, to set a Peace-  
able



able Kingdom in a Flame, on purpose to make a Prey of it for himself. He hath so little Sense of Publick Faith and Solemn Treaties, that when he thought he had the Advantage, he actually Fought an Army with the Articles of Peace in his Pocket. He tramples upon all that is Sacred, and the very Neck of his Father, to obtain a Throne. He proves False even to his Maker and Benefactors, and when he had done his Business by their Assistance, trod them under Foot. He is so much delighted with Scandal and Defamation of Great Princes, that he bribes and hires a Company of Foul-mouth'd Theologues to recreate him once a Week, with all the Nauseous Scum and Filth they are able to rake together, and then Publishes it to the Kingdom, by Special Command. Could any one but the infamous Lesley, be the Author of such Hellish Spite. He, who afterwards attack'd the King's Government and Memory in his Rehearsal, and Her Majesty in Rehearsals, Moderators, Examiners, and Plain-Dealers; and still Triumphs every Week in his Infamy. Such is the Spirit of the Enemies of our Deliverance and Deliverer; such their Affection for France and Tyranny. 'Tis a sure Mark of a Friend to France, to hate the Revolution, and the Dutch that helpt us in it. The Arguments urg'd by the Enemies to our Constitution in King William's Time, are the very same they now make use of in their Conducts, John Bull &c. The Writer who horridly villify'd the Character of his late Majesty, writes thus favourably of the French King, thus maliciously of the Dutch.

*Dutch.* If the French King had no Provocation to War with the rest of his Neighbours, yet he had Provocation from us; and I defy the Wit of Men to assign any more than one Reason and one Provocation of this Terrible War on our side; and neither of them Just, Honourable, nor Necessary, viz. the Skreening our Neighbours the Dutch, and our Men and Money must be sent thither for no other Reason, but to save their Pockets and their Skins. 'I doubt this will never pass for an Honourable Reason among English Men, that 'tis worth such prodigious Quantities of English Treasure and Blood, to Fight their Battles, and secure their Frontiers. Is not this the Language of a certain Rampant Faction at this Juncture? To argue with them, would be an equal Impertinence to History and Reason; and I shall content my self to shew how Natural it is for those that were Enemies to King William and our Constitution, to speak well of France, and to revile the Dutch. I could give a thousand Instances of this kind, and may do it on another Occasion; but I should digress too much, to do it here, and therefore shall proceed to the *History of the Revolution*, which I shall introduce with an Account of King James's Reign, taken only from the Declaration of Rights, made by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Assembled at *Westminster*, the 12th of February, 1688. the Day before King William and Queen Mary was Proclaim'd; in which will appear what just Grounds the People of England had to keep King  
James

James out of the Throne he had Abdicated, and to fill it with the late King and Queen, and after them with her Present Majesty, whose Crown had otherwise been Usurp'd by the Pretender. That Declaration begins thus : *Whereas the Late King James the Second, by the Assistance of divers Evil Councillors, Judges and Ministers employed by him, did endeavour to subject and extirpate the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this Kingdom, by Assuming and Exercising a Power of Dispensing with, and Suspending of Laws, and the Execution of Laws without Consent of Parliament.*

His whole Reign is a continu'd Series of Examples of this kind, and his Brother King Charles II. felt the Pulse of the Nation, with reference to this Illegal Power of the Crown, in dispensing with the Conformity Act in the Year 1672. when, by Virtue of his Prerogative, He Tolerated Dissenters of all sorts from the Church of England, and suspended the Penal Laws against them. But that Prince acted very sparingly in this matter, and excepting in the Cases of the *Quo Warranto's*, did every thing with an appearance of Law, however corrupt the Practice was; of which take the following Instance, told by a Minister of State in Scotland, to a Gentleman from whom I had it. The D. of Lauderdale having rendered himself obnoxious to the Hatred of both Nations, especially the Scots, he being Prime Minister of that Kingdom, would needs perswade the King to Condemn the Actions of a considerable Number of Persons

sons of the First Quality unheard, meerly for opposing his Arbitrary Proceedings. K. Charles calling the other Scots Minister into his Closet, told him, *He was advis'd by such a Man, to give Sentence against those Noblemen that had oppos'd his Chief Minister's Proceedings, and that without allowing them a Hearing, tho' they were come to London on purpose, desiring his Opinion in the Case, if he cou'd do it in Law, with this Expression, Tho' I resolve not to part with the Duke of Lauderdale at any Rate, yet I Adjure you by the Almighty God, to tell me whether I can in Law Condemn his Enemies, without giving them a Hearing, for if the Law cannot, I will not.* Adding, *That in that alone he could not comply with the Duke of Lauderdale's Desires; for says he, I look upon my self as plac'd in this Station in the World, for this very End; accordingly, in spite of the Duke's Allegations, he gave the Lords a Hearing.* But had he lov'd the Law as a King ought to do he would soon have dismiss'd a Minister that desir'd him to break it. As to King James's Invading the Law at his Pleasure, what need I mention his employing Papists, and telling the Parliament he would do it. What need is there of Particulars, when the Powers of *Westminster-Hall* were all on his side, and the Fountains from whence all the Parts of it flow'd, were defil'd. The Fourth and Fifth Articles of the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration, set this Grievance in a True Light, and the Fact we all know by feeling Experience.

“ It



" It was pretended that the King is  
 " Cloath'd with a Despotick and Arbitrary Power, and that the Lives, Liberties, Honours and Estates of the Subjects, depend wholly on his good Will and Pleasure, and are entirely subject to him; which must infallibly follow, on the King's having a Power to suspend the Execution of Laws, and to dispense with them. Those Evil Councillors, in order to the giving some Credit to his strange and execrable Maxim, have so conducted the Matter, that they have obtain'd a Sentence from the Judges, declaring, That the *Dispensing Power* is a Right belonging to the Crown; as if it were in the Power of the *Twelve Judges*, to offer up the Lives, Rights and Liberties of the whole Nation to the King, to be dispos'd of by him, Arbitrarily at his Pleasure, and expressly contrary to the Laws Enacted for the Security of the Subjects. In order to the obtaining this Judgment, those Evil Councillors did before-hand Examine secretly the Opinion of the Judges, and procur'd such of them as could not in Conscience concur in so pernicious a Sentence, to be turn'd out, and others to be Substituted in their rooms; till by the Changes that were made in the Courts of Judicature, they at last obtain'd that Judgment. And they have rais'd some to those Trusts, who make open Profession of the *Popish Religion*, tho' those are by Law ren-  
 " der'd

“ der’d incapable of all such Employ-  
ments. ” What a Pack of Lawyers he  
pick’d out to be Judges, and to determine  
of the Rights and Liberties of the People,  
one may perceive by the Choice of Sir  
Thomas Jenner, Sir Christopher Milton,  
Sir Richard Allybone, and the like. Per-  
sons of mean Understandings, desperate  
Fortunes, and Lewd Principles, who flat-  
ter’d King James to his Ruin ; of which I  
have this Story, and from good Authori-  
ty. A great Lawyer now Living, being in  
Conversation with a certain Nobleman  
(who bore a considerable Character in  
King Charles’s, and King James’s Council)  
askt, *Whether the King put his Lawyers and  
Judges upon doing what was done, without con-  
sidering whether it was Legal, as the Common  
Vogue was he did ; or that his Lawyers first  
advis’d what to be done was Law.* The Lord  
reply’d upon his Honour, *The Kings Council  
at Law, first advis’d he might do by Law what  
he would have done, and then he commanded  
them to do it.* A fine Excuse for a Monarch  
thus misst to take Care first to have such  
Judges and Lawyers, as he was sure would  
say whatever he would have them, and  
after that, make their Opinion the Rule  
of his Government. It is not forgot that  
when he Closetted Sir Thomas Jones, one  
of his Judges, to induce him to take off  
the Penal Laws, and Test ; and the Judge  
was so Honest as to declare himself against  
it. The King told him, *He would have  
Twelve Judges that should be for it.* To  
which Sir Thomas answer’d, *His Majesty  
might*

2 I

might have Twelve Judges, but he never would have Twelve Lawyers. It was also said then of Sir John Maynard, who had been Eminent at the Bar Threescore Years, that when the Prince of Orange, on Sir John's first waiting upon him, took Notice of his great Age, He reply'd, He had indeed out-liv'd many of his Brother Lawyers, and if his Highness had not come to save it, would have out-liv'd the Law it self. I cannot think this Discourse of Great Men, below the Dignity of History, especially of *Aneſtoets*, which are to record such things as Decency and Discretion might not admit to be remember'd in General Annals.

The Second Article of the Declaration is, *By Committing and Prosecuting divers worthy Prelates, for humbly Petitioning to be excus'd from concurring to the said Assum'd Power.* This alludes to the Imprisonment of the Seven Bishops in the Tower, and their Tryal at Westminster-Hall.

These PRELATES were,

Dr. Will. Sancroft, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury  
 Dr. Will. Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph,  
 Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely,  
 Dr. John Lake, Bishop of Chichester,  
 Dr. Tho. Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells,  
 Dr. Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough,  
 Sir Jonathan Trelawny, Bishop of Bristol.

Their Crime was for delivering a Petition to the King, who had by Proclamation enjoined

joyn'd them to cause his Declaration of Indulgence to *Papists*, &c. to be read in their Churches, wherein they most humbly represented to his Majesty, that it being a Matter of so great Consequence to the Nation, both in Church and State, they could not in Prudence, Honour and Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribution of it over the Kingdom. They were Imprison'd by a Warrant of Council, Sign'd by

The Chancellor *Jefferies*,

The Lord President,

Henry, Lord Arundel of Warder, L. P. S.  
a *Papist*,

William, Marquiss of Powis, a *Papist*,

John, Earl of Mulgrave, L. C. Now  
Duke of Bucks.

Theophilus, Earl of Huntington,

Henry, Earl of Peterborough, a *Papist*,

Roger, Earl of Castlemain, a *Papist*,

Richard, Lord Viscount Preston,

Henry, Lord Dover, a *Papist*.

Of what Religion the Lord *Jefferies*, the Earl of Huntington, &c. were, whether more Orthodox than the other, or more an Honour to any, I shall not decide. The Court was first of Opinion to Try the Bishops before the Ecclesiastical Commission, but *Jefferies* put them off of that, advising the King to prefer an Information against them at the King's Bench. The Bishops were brought to their Tryal in



*Westminster-Hall*, having been Prisoners almost Three Weeks, before

Sir Robert Wright, L. C. Justice,  
Mr. Justice Holloway,  
Mr. Justice Powel,  
Mr. Justice *Allybone*, a Papist.

The Council against them, were      The Council for them.

Sir Thomas Powis,  
Sir William Williams,  
Sir Barth. Shower,  
Serjeant Baldock,  
Serjeant Trinder.

Sir Robert Sawyer,  
*Heneage Finch*, Esq;  
Sir Francis Pemberton,  
Sir Creswell Levinz,  
*Henry Pollexfen*, Esq;  
Sir George Treby,  
*John Somers*, Esq;

The Reader is desir'd to observe, what a Flaming Zeal some Persons have of late shewn for the Church, whose Names he will find among the Persecutors of the Fathers of it, and one of them was very hot in his Arguments against them, insisting, that their Petition was a False, Factious, Seditious Libel. He has since had a Seat in several Parliaments, and been at the Head of several Address'es passing at this time, for a Champion of the Church, for which he was then doing this Notable Service. Sir Thomas Powis particularly argu'd, "Whether a Libel be true or not: "Was it ever yet in any Court of Justice, "permitted to be made a Question, whether it were a Libel or no? Or whether "the Party should be punish'd; and "therefore he wonder'd to hear the Bishop's Council say, that because it was

" not

“ not a False one, therefore it was no  
“ Libel. He allow’d the most inferiour  
“ Person might Petition the King, but  
“ but might not therefore suggest what  
“ he pleas’d in his Petition ? And should  
“ he come and tell the King to his Face,  
“ that what he did was illegal ? That  
“ there was a great deal of difference in  
“ not doing a thing that was Commanded,  
“ if one was of the Opinion that it was  
“ unlawful, and coming to the King with  
“ a Petition highly reflecting upon the  
“ Government, and with Scandalous Ex-  
“ pressions, telling him, *S I R, You act*  
“ *illegally; You require of us that which*  
“ *is against Prudence, Honour or Con-*  
“ *science, as the Lords the Bishops were*  
“ *pleas’d to do, in that Petition of theirs,*  
“ *&c.* ” He concluded, *That the Informa-*  
*tion was laid Malicious and Seditious, because,*  
said he, *If the thing be illegal, the Law s.ys it*  
*is Malicious.* The best of the Court Coun-  
cil pleaded with the same Strength of Law  
and Reason; all which was answered by  
the Bishops, with that Force and Elo-  
quence which Truth and Justice inspire.  
Sir *William Williams* was hift at in the Hall,  
at which Sir *Thomas Powis* was very angry,  
and said, *This is very fine indeed, I hope the*  
*Court and Jury will take Notice of this Carriage.*  
After a long Tryal, the Judges gave their  
Opinion, *Wright* and *Allybone*, against the  
Bishops, and *Holloway* and *Powel* for them,  
which the latter paid for with their Places  
soon after. The Jury sat all Night, and  
brought in their Lordships *Not Guilty* next  
Morning, which occasion’d great Rejoy-

cings in Town and Country, and even the Camp at *Hounslow-Heath*, to His Majesty's great Mortification. It must not be omitted, that during the Course of the Tryal, there was such a Presence of Lords to Countenance the Bishops, that it lookt rather like the Bar of the House of Peers, than that of the Kings Bench, there being present in the Hall, the following Lords, an appearance owing to the indefatigable Care of the Clergy, especially Dr. *Tennison*.

|                               |                                |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Marq. of <i>Hallifax</i> ,    | Earl of <i>Clarendon</i> ,     |
| Marq. of <i>Worcester</i> ,   | Earl of <i>Danby</i> ,         |
| Earl of <i>Shrewsbury</i> ,   | Earl of <i>Suffex</i> ,        |
| Earl of <i>Kent</i> ,         | Earl of <i>Radnor</i> ,        |
| Earl of <i>Bedford</i> ,      | Earl of <i>Nottingham</i> ,    |
| Earl of <i>Pembroke</i> ,     | Earl of <i>Abington</i> ,      |
| Earl of <i>Dorset</i> ,       | Lord Visc. <i>Falconberg</i> , |
| Earl of <i>Cullingbrook</i> , | Lord Visc. <i>Newport</i> ,    |
| Earl of <i>Manchester</i> ,   | Lord <i>Gray of Ruthen</i> ,   |
| Earl <i>Rivers</i> ,          | Lord <i>Pagett</i> ,           |
| Earl of <i>Stamford</i> ,     | Lord <i>Chandois</i> ,         |
| Earl of <i>Carnarvan</i> ,    | Ld. <i>Vaughan Carbery</i> ,   |
| Earl of <i>Chesterfield</i> , | Lord <i>Lumley</i> ,           |
| Earl of <i>Scarsdale</i> ,    | Lord <i>Cartaret</i> ,         |
| Earl of <i>Carlisle</i> ,     | Lord <i>Osulston</i> ,         |
| Earl of <i>Burlington</i> ,   |                                |

### The GRAND JURY were,

|                                 |                                 |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Sir <i>Rog. Langley</i> , Bart. | <i>Thomas Harriot</i> , Esq;    |
| Sir <i>William Hill</i> , Kt.   | <i>Jeff. Nightingale</i> , Esq; |
| <i>Roger Jennings</i> , Esq;    | <i>William Withers</i> , Esq;   |
| <i>William Avery</i> , Esq;     | <i>Michael Arnold</i> , Esq;    |
| <i>Thomas Austin</i> , Esq;     | <i>Thomas Done</i> , Esq;       |
| <i>Nicholas Price</i> , Esq;    | <i>Rich. Shoreditch</i> , Esq;  |

I take

I take Pleasure to do Justice to Names that are worth remembrance for their Integrity and Courage, in those Times of the Churches real Danger, as well as to those that ought never to be forgotten for their Infamy, in Sacrificing her to their Ambition and Interest. The Bishop of *Rocheſter* tells us in his Letter to the Earl of *Dorſet*, He was alſo preſent at the Biſhop's Tryal, in order to be a Witneſs in their behalf. Whether any other Prelate attended, I can't tell, but doubt not many more were ready to ſhare their Fortunes; and it was this Tryal of the Biſhops, and their Councils excellent Pleading, that wrought that Happy Effect on my Lord of *Rocheſter*, which he ſpeaks of in the ſame Letter. " There it was, " my Lord, that I was firſt convinc'd of " the falſe Foundations and miſchievous " Conſequences of ſuch a Diſpenſing " Power, as that on which the Declara- " tion was grounded. So that I have " ever ſince been perſwaded, that from " that Petition of thoſe Biſhops, ſo de- " fended by the Invincible Arguments of " their Learned Council on that Day, " and ſo juſtify'd by the Honeſt Verdict " of their undaunted Jury on the next " Day; from whence I ſay, we may Date " the firſt great Step that was made to- " wards the reſcuing our Laws and Reli- " gion. For my part, I muſt own I was " ſo fully ſatiſfied by the excellent Plead- " ings of thoſe great Lawyers at that " Tryal, that I confeſs I never had till " then,

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“ then, to clear a Notion what Unalterable Bounds the Law has fix’d between  
 “ the Just Prerogatives of the Crown,  
 “ and the Legal Rights of the Subjects.  
 It was this Tryal of the Bishops that hasten’d the Prince of *Orange’s* Expedition, several Lords and Gentlemen went to *Holland* to that Purpose. The Earl of *Shrewsbury* who was present at it, quitted his Regiment of Horse, and having Mortgag’d his Estate for 40000 *l.* went over to his Highness, to offer him both his Sword and his Purse. The third Article of the Declaration is, *By Issuing and Causing to be Executed a Commission under the Great Seal, for Erecting a Court, call’d The Court of Commission for Ecclesiastical Affairs; of which were appointed Members,*

*William*, Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*,  
*George*, Lord *Jefferies*, Lord Chancellor,  
*Laurence*, E. of *Rocheſter*, Ld. High Treas.  
*Robert*, E. of *Sunderland*, Pres. of the Coun.  
*Nathaniel*, Lord Bishop of *Durham*,  
*Thomas*, Lord Bishop of *Rocheſter*,  
*Sir Edward Herbert*, Lord Chief Justice  
 of the Common Pleas.

Who the very Day their Commission was open’d, fell upon my Lord Bishop of *London*, for not Suspending Dr. *Sharpe*, for Preaching against Popery. The Doctor, now his Grace of *York*, Petition’d the King, but his Petition was not receiv’d, and the Bishop of *London* was cited before this Illegal Court, where were present all the Commissioners before mention’d. But the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, who refus’d

to be concern'd with them. *Jefferies* deny'd the Bishop a Copy of their Commission, saying, *It may be had at a Coffee-House for a Penny*; and when his Lordship desir'd time to advise with Council, He said furlily, *The Kings Business would not admit of such delays*. My Lord Bishop was attended by several Gentlemen of Note, when he appear'd before these Commissioners, as

Sir *Francis Compton*,  
Sir *Thomas Clarges*,  
Sir *John Nicolas*,  
Sir *John Lowther*, and others.

He had a Fortnights time only allow'd him to consult and prepare for his Defence. The Court refus'd him a Copy of the Orders and Minutes concerning his Affair. *Jefferies* cut him short, by telling him, *We will not admit of any Quarrelling with our Commission, we are well assur'd of the Legality of it, otherwise we would not be such Tools as to sit here*. His Lordship speaking about the Legality of the Court, Sir *Thomas Clarges* cry'd out, *Well put, well put, my Lord speaks nothing but Truth, &c.* Sir *John Lowther* of *Lincolnshire*, said aloud, *There are some who have represented me as a Papist, but the contrary will appear, I will not be afraid nor asham'd to vindicate my Lord Bishop's Cause before the Commissioners themselves*. His Lordship pleaded to their Jurisdiction, and his Plea was strenuously argu'd by Four Civilians, Dr. *Oldys*, Dr. *Hodges*, Dr. *Price*, and Dr. *Newton*, but all in vain; they were all over-rul'd, and his Lordship  
sul-

suspended. The Bishop of *Durham*, the Bishop of *Rocheſter*, and the Bishop of *Peterborough*, being appointed Commissioners for the Dioceſe of *London*; and one of the firſt Exerciſes of their Office, was the degrading Mr. *Samuel Johnson*, which could not otherwiſe have been uſ'd with that deteſtable Barbarity which he ſuffer'd, from the Rage and Violence of that Bloody Adminiſtration. Dr. *Stillingfleet*, afterwards Biſhop of *Worceſter*, refus'd to have any hand in that Odious Buſineſs; and the Works of that brave Confefſor, who underwent the Pains of a thouſand Martyrdoms, will render the Names of all ſuch as had a ſhare in it, hateful to Poſterity, when they know that the only Crime for which he ſo ſuffer'd, was writing a Paper, Entitled, *An Humble Ad-dreſs to all the Engliſh Proteſtants in the Army*, inciting them to defend their Religion, in the Defence of which, the whole Nation, two Years after took Arms.

This done, theſe Eccleſiaſtical Commiſſioners drove on furiouſly, Father *Peter* commenc'd a Suit againſt *Exeter-Colledge*, in which, if they had been Caſt, that whole Society muſt ſoon have been abandon'd to Popery. New Statutes were endeavour'd to be impos'd upon *Chriſt-Church Colledge* in *Oxford*, and *Sidney Colledge* in *Cambridge*. Changes and Abrogation of Oaths were made and intended, for the advantage of Popiſh Priests, and the freer courſe of *Mandamus's*. The Biſhop of *Lincoln* was proſecuted by his Arch-

Arch-Deacon; the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury* frequently threatned, and the Two Universities continually prosecuted by them. Every one knows the Famous Story of *Magdalen Colledge*, the great Alarm of the Church Party, than which nothing contributed more to King *James's* Ruin. I shall therefore only touch on some of those things which discover most the Spirit of that Government, and the misery that must have attended it, had it continu'd. The Crime of *Magdalen Colledge*; which was choosing Dr. *Hough* President according to their Statutes, and refusing one *Farmer*, a Person of a very mean and debauch'd Character, to whom King *James* had granted a *Mandamus*, which was brought down to the Colledge by *Charnock*, who was one of the Assassins that conspir'd to murder King *William*, for which he was Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, seven or eight Years after this Dispute about *Farmer*. There was now a New Commission in which the Arch-Bishop's Name, and the Earl of *Rocheſter's* were left out. But the Two Bishops continu'd Members of the Court still, and to the Old ones were added,

*John*. Earl of *Mulgrave*, now D. of B. and N.

Dr. *Thomas Cartwright*, Bishop of *Chester*,  
Sir *Robert Wright*, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

Sir *Thomas Jenner*, one of the Barons of the Exchequer.

The



The College sent Two of their Fellows Captain *Bagshaw*, and Dr. *Thomas Smith*, to Court, with a Petition, which they deliver'd to the Earl of *Sunderland*. But after several Days waiting, all the Answer they cou'd get, was, *The King must be obey'd*, Then they Presented their Case to the Duke of *Ormond*, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, whole Interposition was little regarded. The Vice President and Fellows were cited to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Accordingly the Vice President, Dr. *Fairfax*, Dr. *J. Smith*, Mr. *Hammond*, Mr. *Dobson*, and Mr. *Farrer* Deputy Fellows appear'd; and in answer to the Demand, Why they had not obey'd the King's Mandate, declar'd they had chosen Dr. *Hough*, who had been since confirm'd by the Bishop of *Winchester*, their Visiter. Their Answer was long and deliver'd in Writing, which Dr. *Fairfax*, did not set his Name to. And *Jefferies* taking it for a sign of his compliance, said with his usual Eloquence, *As this looks like a Man of Sense, and a good Subject, Let us hear what he will say*, But finding he talk'd boldly in behalf of Dr. *Hough's* Election, He told him, *He was a Doctor of Divinity and not of Law*; To this the Doctor reply'd, *He desir'd to know by what Commission they sat*? Which threw the Chancellor into one of his accustomed Fits of Passion and Railing, He crying out, *Pray what Commission have you to be so impudent in Court? This Man ought to keep in a Dark Room. Why do you suffer him with-*

out

out a Guardian? Why did you not bring him to me to beg him? Pray let the Officers Sieze him. The Commissioners taking no notice of the Allegations against Farmer, his Scandalous Life and Hypocrisy depriv'd Dr. Hough, and Suspended Dr. Aldworth, and Dr. Fairfax. However, the Court being at last asham'd of so vile a Fellow as Farmer, a new Mandate was presented for a Person of a little better Reputation, Dr. Parker Bishop of Oxon, whom the College cou'd not chuse according to their Statutes, Dr. Hough being their Lawful President. The Fellows refusing to obey this Mandate, the King came to Oxford in Person, and Commanded them to attend him at Christ-Church. He than ask'd Dr. Pudsey, the Senior of the Fellows that appear'd before him, whether they had receiv'd His Letter. The Doctor answer'd they had; The King reply'd in an Angry Tone, Then you have done very uncivily by me and undutifully. The Fellows kneeling offer'd a Petition, and representing the Duty that lay on them by their Oaths to observe their Founder's Statutes, &c. The King refus'd to receive their Petition, and express'd himself in these Passionate Words, *Te have been a Stubborn, Turbulent College, I have known you to be so these Twenty Five Years. You have affronted me in this, Is this your Church of England's Loyalty? One wou'd wonder to find so many Church of England Men in such a Business. Go home, and shew your selves good Members of the Church* of

of England. Get you gone, Know that I am your King, I will be obey'd; and I command you to be gone, To admit the Bishop of Oxon Head Principal, What d'ye call it of your College? (one that stood by said President,) I mean President of the College. Let them that refuse it look to't, They shall feel the weight of their Souereign's Displeasure. Here's Liberty, Here Property, Here the Glorious Advantage of a Popish King and Arbitrary Government. All the Laws in England were on the side of the Fellows. And the King has nothing to say against it. But, Know that I am your King, I will be obey'd.

The Fellows going out of the Presence were call'd back, and His Majesty said, I hear you have admitted a Fellow of the College, since my Inhibition, have you, not admitted Mr. Holden Fellow, Dr. Pudsey answer'd, I think he was admitted Fellow, but we conceive—— Upon which Mr. Craddock proceeded, May it please your Majesty, there was no New Election or Admission, but only the Consummation of a former Election; To this the King reply'd, The Consummation of a former Election, is downright Disobedience; and is a fresh Aggravation. Get you home, I say again, and immediately repair to your Chappel, and Elect the Bishop of Oxford, or else you must expect to feel the weight of my Hand.

The Fellows offering their Petition again on their Knees, the King said to them, Get you home, I will receive nothing from you, till you have obey'd me. The King going

going from *Oxford* to *Bath*, the College presented an Address to Him there, which had no more effect on his Majesty than their other Submission. *William Pen* the *Quaker*, at that time a Courtier and Favourite, wrote a Letter to Dr. Bayly, to perswade them to comply; in which was this Fine Argument, *Every Mechanick knows the Temper of the Present King, who never will receive a Baffle in any Thing*: A happy Disposition in a limited Monarchy, where the King is as much Subject to the Laws as his People. To conclude this Affair, *Cartwright*, Bishop of *Chester*, *Wright* the Chief Justice, and Baron *Jenner*, were sent to visit *Magdalen College*, which Visitation *Cartwright* open'd with a Speech, wherein he urg'd that the *Church of England* taught an *Unlimited, Unconditional Obedience*, the very Doctrine that has lately been reviv'd among us, as well in Sermons as Addresses. He then ask'd Dr. *Hough*, *Whether he wou'd submit to his Visitation?* The Doctor answer'd, *they wou'd submit to it as far as was consistent with the Law of the Land, and the Statutes of the College, and no farther*: The next Question the Bishop ask'd was, *Whether they observ'd all the Statutes?* Dr. *Hough* reply'd, *They hop'd they did*, Then says this Orthodox Prelate, *Why do not you read Mass, there's a Statute for that*, Dr. *Hough* answer'd, *The Matter of it was Unlawful, and in such a Case no Man was oblig'd to take an Oath; Besides that Statute was taken away by the Laws of the Land.* These



These Three Commissioners requir'd Dr. Hough several times to deliver up the Keys, and quit Possession of his Lodgings, which the Doctor refusing, the King's Proctor pronounc'd him Guilty of Contumacy, and the Bishop thrice admonish'd him to quit his Lodgings, and act no longer as President, demanding of the Fellows, *Whether they wou'd admit the Bishop of Oxon, since Dr. Hough's Election was declar'd void,* to which the greater part answer'd; *They cou'd not do it without Perjury,* Dr. Hough came into the Court without Attendance, and when it was ended having desir'd to be heard, spoke thus; *That they having been pleas'd to deprive him of his Place of President of that College, he did protest against all their Proceedings in Prejudice of Him and his Right as Illegal, Unjust and Null: Therefore he appeal'd to his Sovereign Lord the King, in his Courts of Justice.* Upon this the Schollars and others in the Room gave a Humm, for which, tho' Dr. Hough offer'd to clear himself of the Offence by Oath, he was bound in a 1000 l. Bond, and Security for the like Sum to make his Appearance at the King's-Bench-Bar next Term; Wright Saying, *They had met with nothing but Affronts from the College, that as for himself he valu'd not what People said of Him; but was resolv'd to vindicate the Honour of his Master to the last drop of his Blood, and if the Civil Power could not keep them in a Order the Military should.* A Comfortable Reflection, for those who would bring us  
back

back into the same State of Misery, by calling in the *Pretender*, who having been educated under King *Lewis* and King *James*, must make a fine Monarch for a Free People. *Jenner* with as much Wit as Reason, told the President, *Sir you must not think to huff us*, making a vile Pun on his Name. After this the Commissioners broke open *Dr. Hough's* Lodgings, and gave Possession of them to *Mr. Wiggins*, the Bishop of *Oxford's* Chaplain, whom he appointed his Proxy. None of the Fellows being present at this Outrage or *Wiggin's* Installation but *Charnock*. The Bishop of *Chester* again askt the Fellows Whether they would now obey the Bishop of *Oxford*; *Dr. Fairfax* reply'd, He neither could nor would Obey him, having already a Lawful and Statutable Presidem, for which he was expell'd immediately. The same Question being particularly put to *Mr. Fulham*, He alledg'd, That the Bishop of *Oxford* had no Possession in due form of Law, and that he was inform'd the Proper Officer to give Possession of a Freehold, was the Sheriff, with a Poss-Comitatus. The Commissioners reply'd, You may have one soon enough, and Suspended him. After which the Commissioners adjourn'd to *London*, to give the King an Account of their Proceedings, and having new Instructions, again return'd to *Oxford*, where they presently made Two Popish Fellows of the College, *Joyner* and *Allybone* dispensing with all Oaths, besides that of the College. The Bishop of *Chester* Entertain'd them with

another Harangue, telling them, among other things, *If you will persist to oppose the Royal Power of the King, We who are come to vindicate the Right and Honour of his Majesty, resolve to discharge our Consciences and Duties to God and the King, without any Respect of Popularity, which is but the Paradise of Fools, and therefore, as for us we have no more Regard to Peoples dislike than what they Dream.* So they at once turn'd out Twenty Six Fellows, keeping in none but Mr. Thomas Smith, Charnock and Thompson, who were the only Fellows of all that Society that wou'd give up their own Rights, and the Rights of the College to the King's Will and Pleasure, which was not yet, as much Law in England as it is in France; tho' it wou'd soon have greater Force than a Statute, if ever we should take a King from thence.

The College being thus handled by the Visitors, Charnock was made their Vice President, and more Papists admitted, Bishop Parker acting as President try'd all ways to bring the *Demies* to comply with the Kings, and his own Designs, which they generally refus'd, and He wrote thus Courfly to Court, *That he found it signi'y'd little to have crack'd the Lice unless they also destroy'd the Knits;* so Orders were sent him to Expel the *Demies*, among whom I am inform'd were, Dr. Robert Friend, School-Master of Westminster, and Dr. John Friend Physician; Of the latter, I can speak with more certainty, and to his Glory, that after Four and Twenty Years

Years Study, and the Experience of Two *Revolution* Reigns; He has found out what the Bishop of *Chester* told them, that *Obedience* should be unlimited and unconditional. For such is the Language of the Party of which he is so bright an Ornament.

In the Order of Time, the Usage of the University of *Cambridge* by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, should have been first mention'd. The King had granted a *Mandamus* to one *Alban Francis* a *Benedictine* Monk, to take the Degree of Master of Arts, which being read in the Consistory, 'twas unanimously agreed, that they could not admit him, unless he took the usual Oaths, without Breach of their own. They apply'd to the Duke of *Albemarle*, their Chancellor, who did what he could to serve them, but to no purpose; for the Secretary of State gave 'em to understand, *His Majesty* had seen the Vice-Chancellor's Letter, was offended at their Proceedings, and would take Orders shortly to give them a further Answer, which was a Summons by the Messenger *Atterbury*, to the Vice-Chancellor *Dr. Peachet* to appear before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which he and the University Delegates did. The Chancellor *Jefferies*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, the Earl of *Mulgrave*, now Duke of *B. and N.* the Bishops of *Durham* and *Rochester*, and the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas being present. After some trifling Questions propounded by *Jefferies*, he told the Vice-Chancellor, " That he



" being guilty of great Disobedience to  
 " the King's Command, and other Crimes  
 " and Contempt of the Court, they  
 " had sentenc'd him to be depriv'd of  
 " his Office of Vice-Chancellor, and ac-  
 " cordingly they suspended him, *ab Officio*  
 " & *Beneficio*, of his Headship of *Magda-*  
 " *len* College, and that he should not  
 " presume to meddle in any publick  
 " Business relating to the University.  
 Both the Prosecutions being so Arbitrary  
 and Illegal, the whole Nation took the  
 Alarm, and it is certain, that from this  
 time their Hearts and Eyes were turn'd  
 towards the Prince of *Orange*, whose coming  
 the Bishop's Tryal hasten'd, and the se-  
 curity of our Church necessarily requir'd,  
 tho some of her Members, who boast  
 most of Zeal for her, have most ungrate-  
 fully disclaim'd it.

Besides this, the Commissioners sum-  
 moned the Chancellor's Commissaries  
 and Archdeacons of most of the Bishop-  
 ricks to return the Names of all the  
 Ministers that had not read the King's  
 Declaration for dispensing with our Laws  
 and near two hundred Ministers were  
 suspended in the Diocess of *Durham*  
 for refusing to read it. The next Charge  
 in the Declaration of Rights is,

*By levying Money for and to the use of the  
 Crown by Pretence of the Prerogative, for other  
 Time and in other Manner than the same was  
 granted by Parliament.*

This has Allusion to King *James's* seizing that Part of the Customs and Excise, which ceas'd at the Death of King *Charles* II. The Officers of these two great Branches of the Revenue, levy'd it still with all manner of Severity, and the Nation was so infatuated, that Addressees were made to thank the King for this Invasion of the Law ; one of which was extorted from the Temple, and presented by Sir *Humphry Mackworth*, who owes his Knighthood to that Service. A Man of Quality and Learning, and whose Family has in all Ages distinguish'd themselves by their Love of Liberty, writes thus on the Confirming this Revenue by Parliament.

" Upon the Demise of King *Charles*,  
" what necessity was there to continue  
" the Excise to King *James*, I mean the  
" Moiety then determin'd ? Could  
" any thing under a Popish Prince be a  
" greater Security to the Protestant Religion and Liberty of the Kingdom  
" than the smallness of the Revenue ?  
" And was it not the main Argument of  
" King *Charles* and the Clergy against  
" passing the Bill of Exclusion: That  
" though the Crown should come to a  
" Popish Successor, he could not be able  
" to force his Religion upon the Nation,  
" by the reason of the falling off of one  
" half of the Excise at King *Charles's*  
" Death. But what a weak Argument  
" that was, the Practice of King *James*  
" prov'd, for he did not suffer that one

half to cease, nor indeed a Penny of the Revenue that was paid to his Brother, whether it ended with him or not. The next Article is,

*By raising and keeping a standing Army within the Kingdoms in Time of Peace, without Consent of Parliament, and Quartering Soldiers contrary to Law.*

The Establishment, when the Army was disbanded in the Year 1678 by Sir Thomas Player, Chamberlain of London, and the other Commissioners, was 5650 Soldiers. The Parliament was so jealous of the Army, that they gave a large Sum, twice for the disbanding of it after it had been rais'd under Pretence of a League with *Holland* against *France*. The first Sum near 700000 l. King *Charles* dispos'd of otherwise. The next they would not trust him with, but order'd it to be paid into the Chamber of *London*. After the Garrison of *Tangier* was brought over and plac'd in the most considerable Parts of *England*, the Establishment was about 8500 Men; which King *James* found it, and which he took occasion, upon the Fright of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Invasion to encrease to 16000. He then call'd his Parliament, and being so well back'd, told them in a haughty Speech, "He had increas'd his Army, put in Officers not qualify'd by the Test, and that he would not part with them. This his own giving Parliament disliking the

the Army and the Popish Officers, he prorogu'd, dissolv'd them, and met no other in his time. He commanded several *Irish* Regiments to joyn with the *English*, which now made above 24000 Men. With these he encamp'd on *Hounslow Heath*, when the Season would permit, to fright the City of *London*, which put not only them, but the whole Kingdom into Terror and Confusion. From 2000, the *Irish* Establishment, he encreas'd it to 9000, and proportionably in *Scotland*. The Soldiers in *England* were quarter'd even in private Houses, and their Insolence so great, no Man could sleep in his own House in Security; Riots, Robberies and Rapes were committed by them with Impunity, and the only Offence that was punish'd was Desertion, which was judg'd by Martial Law in time of Peace, and Sir *John Holt* for refusing to condemn a Man to Death illegally on that Account, was dismiss'd from being Recorder of *London*. The following Charge is,

*By causing several good Subjects, being Protestants, to be disarm'd, at the same time when Papists were both arm'd and employ'd contrary to Law.*

This Effect of Arbitrary Power was experienc'd as early as the Year 1678, when Levies were made in *Ireland*, all compos'd of *Irish* Papists, to whom the Duke of *Ormond* would give no Arms, so they were exercis'd with Sticks. King *James* did



the same in *England*, most of the Counties were in the Hands of Popish Lord Lieutenants and Deputy Lieutenants, there being hardly a Papist in the Kingdom of any Consideration, who was not in some Commission or other. The Protestants were disarm'd at Pleasure, under notion of being disaffected, and Friends to *Monmouth*, and the Papists began already to treat them as People doom'd to Slavery and Destruction. King *James* having made so frank a Declaration to the Parliament, that he would employ his Catholics in spite of the Test. It cannot be doubted but he was as good as his Word, and it will therefore be needless to say any more on this Head, so we proceed to the next.

*By violating the Freedom of Elections of Members to serve in Parliament; by Prosecutions in the Court of Queen's Bench, for Matters Cognizable only in Parliament, and by divers other Arbitrary and Illegal Practices.*

All the *Quo Warranto's* were so many Violations of the Freedom of Elections, *Brent, Graham* and *Burton* being employ'd to model the Corporations, as the Court thought fit to get a Parliament to their Mind, and the Candidates were prepar'd by the King himself, to receive and consent to such Laws as he pleas'd to have made, of which a Memorial to the Prince and Princess of *Orange* gives this

this Account; " His Majesty has Personally solicited and attack'd so many " of the Electors for Parliament, by his " Frowns, and Smiles, and Secrets, to " accept of such for their Deputies in " Parliament as will comply with his Designs; that his *Closetting* Electors is " become a By-Word among the People. " He has made them consent to be " barr'd of their Freedom in electing " for Parliament, and in voting therein, " if they be chosen, to be a Test of their " Fitness to hold their Offices or Employment of Profit and Trust, and to " have a Place in the Magistracy: And the Ingenious Dr. *Welwood* makes this Observation upon it, in a Discourse of his about calling a new Parliament in the Year 1690. *What woeful Breaches have been made of this our Native Privilege, we have had too many Experiences in the last Reigns, when Letters, Promises and Threats from Court were made use of to promote Elections, and when few durst venture to serve their Country, if not recommended by those at the Helm? But in order to set our present Condition, and that under the late Reign, in a better Light, it may be perhaps not amiss to give a Letter communicated to me from a Noble Person, to whom it was written in King James's Reign by a great Minister of State, upon a Design of calling King James's Parliament.*

MY LORD,

**I**T being his Majesty's Royal Intention to render all his Subjects, of whatever Perswasion in Religion, happy and easy under his Government, and for that great End to call a Parliament to meet at Westminster on ——— next, It is expected of your Lordship, and I am commanded by his Majesty to acquaint you, That it is his Pleasure, you make use of your Interest in the County of ———, forgetting (here are two particular Persons nam'd) duly elected Knights for the said County in the ensuing Parliament, as Persons of whose Loyalty and good Affection, his Majesty has received sufficient Information. And I am to assure your Lordship, that as your hearty Concurrence herein, will be esteem'd singular good Service done to his Majesty, and incline him to put some mark of his Favour upon you for so doing; so a Neglect herein will be look'd upon by his Majesty as a Piece of ill Service, and may draw upon your Lordship his Majesty's Displeasure, which will be more than enough to ruin you in the present Circumstances your Lordship is in. I put no doubt in your Lordship's hearty Compliance in this Matter, and  
am

Your Lordship's

Humble Servant.

If such a Letter as this, and a great many others of the same Strain, sent through

through most of the Counties of *England*, were written by King *James's* Command at a time when the Mask was not yet quite taken off, what Methods might we have expected afterwards in the Elections for Parliament, if that Prince had an Opportunity to call one at a time when he was pleas'd to make no Secret of his Intention to enslave us, and had prepar'd all Necessaries to put it in Execution.

As to *Arbitrary and Illegal Practices*, I might fill a Volume with Particulars of them. But I have already said enough, and shall now repeat only what *Sir John Hawles*, late Solicitor General, has said on this Subject. " Did it not provoke  
" all the Nation when all the Charters  
" were seiz'd, and not re-granted but at  
" excessive Rates, to the Starving the  
" Poor, which should have been fed with  
" the Money which went to purchase  
" the new Charters, and reserving  
" the Disposition of all the Places of  
" Profit and Power within the New  
" Corporations to the King? Nay, the  
" very Election of Burgeses, the Free-  
" ness of which is the great Fundamen-  
" tal of the Government was monopo-  
" liz'd, and put into a few Hands.  
" Did not the turning out many of the  
" Sldiery and Clergy without any Rea-  
" son, and for that purpose erecting Ar-  
" bitrary Courts, and granting Dispen-  
" sations to Persons by Law disabled, to  
" enable them to have and enjoy the  
" Places



„ Places and Offices of such as were ille-  
 „ gally turn'd out, and of all who should  
 „ be in the like manner turn'd out; and  
 „ was it not seen what the Consequences  
 „ of those things would be by all who  
 „ did not wink their Eyes, or who were  
 „ not blinded by the Profit they made of  
 „ such illegal and cruel Acts. In a Word,  
 if the taking away the City's Right of  
 Electing Sheriffs was illegal, and as Sir  
 Edward Herbert says in his Vindication,  
*Grand Juries return'd but such as are Sheriffs*  
*in Fact, but not in Right, are illegal, and Con-*  
*ventions on their Presentments are Illegal and*  
*Void.* What a Reign of Murder and In-  
 justice was that I am now writing of.  
*The Truth is, as Sir John Hawles further*  
 observes, *when I consider the Practice of*  
*late Times, and the Usage of the Prisoners,*  
*it is so much like, or rather worse than the*  
*Practice of the Inquisition, as I have read it,*  
*that I sometimes think it was in order to in-*  
*troduce Popery, and make the Inquisition,*  
*which is the most terrible Thing in that Re-*  
*ligion, and which all Nations Dread seem*  
*easy in Respect of it.* The remaining Arti-  
 cles are,

And whereas of late Years Partial, Cor-  
 rupt and Unqualified Persons have been re-  
 turn'd and serv'd on Juries, and particularly  
 divers Jurors in Tryals of High Treason, which  
 were not Freeholders.

And Excessive Bail hath been required of  
 Persons committed in Criminal Cases to elude

*the Benefit of the Laws made for the Liberty of the Subject.*

*And Excessive Fines have been imposed.*

*And illegal and cruel Punishments have been inflicted.*

*And several Grants and Promises made of Fines, and Forfeitures before any Conviction, or Judgment against the Persons upon whom the same were to be levied.*

*All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws and Statutes and Freedom of this Realm.*

*And whereas the late King James the Second having abdicated the Government, the Throne being thereby vacant.*

*His Highness the Prince of Orange, &c.*

The Practice of packing Juries was so infamous, that the best Blood in England was spilt by their illegal Verdicts. The first of these Articles has particularly relation to the Murder of my Lord Russell, Father to the late Duke of Bedford, who Challeng'd the Foreman of his Jury being no Freeholder. And the matter was argu'd *Extempore* by his Lordships Council, Mr. Pollexfen and others ; but the Judges over-rul'd them, and that Noble Lord was butcher'd by the Bloody Verdict of a Jury, whose Infamy will live as long as English Men have any Love of Liberty. By such Juries it was, that Colledge was hang'd at Oxford, after he had been clear'd at London, that Col. Sydney dy'd for answering Sir Rob. Filmer's

mer's Book, in behalf of Tyranny; that Mr. *Cornish* was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd before his own Door, by the Evidence of *Rumsey*, who own'd he was Perjur'd in the Lord *Russel's* Tryal, in the very Point Sworn against Mr. *Cornish*; that Mrs. *Lisle* lost her Life for entertaining a Man she did not know, and that Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was hang'd without Tryal, which was as Legal as the taking off the rest by False Evidence and Corrupt Juries. The Sentences of these unhappy Sufferers, have all been repeal'd by Parliament, and their Deaths declar'd *Murders* by the Acts of Repeal. I have often thought, that if ever the Judgment of Heaven pursu'd Men upon Earth for their Guilt in this World, the Innocent Blood of the Persons above-mention'd, follow'd the Court of St. *Germain's* in their Exile, and shew'd them there as an Example, of the severe Justice of Providence, which no Power can resist. And had that Court been Guilty of no other Offence, since Decency will not suffer me to give it a worse Name, I should have lookt on all their Misfortunes afterwards without Pitty, and still had those bleeding Martyrs to Liberty in my Mind. I must own, I cannot read this Part of their Story without Horror: What then must the Cryes and the mangled Bodies of Mr. *Johnson*, Mr. *Dangerfield* and *Oates*, raise in every Humane Mind. The Invention of *Phalaris* of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Nero* and *Domitian*, and all the Enemies of Mankind of

of Old, comes short of the Cruelty exercis'd on those Three *English* Men. And the Scene of Blood and Horror, that fill'd the Streets of *London* at that time, was such as must certainly give all that saw it, an inexpressible Dread of a Popish and Arbitrary Government. If those Horrid Punishments had been Legal, it must set every honest Heart against him that cou'd inflict them. But they were all as Unjust as they were Barbarous. After this, why shou'd I make any mention of so slight a Matter as *Fines* or *Damages*, though adjudg'd with an *Exorbitancy* that never was heard of; as Mr. *Duttoncole* 100000 *l.* for speaking against the Duke of *Beaufort*; Mr. *Thomas Pilkington* 10000 *l.* for saying K. *James* was a *Papist*; Sir *Samuel Barnardiston* 10000 *l.* for writing some News to a Friend in the Country about the Plot. Why should I speak of the Duke of *Devonshire's* Fine of 30000 *l.* for giving *Culpeper* a Box on the Ear, and of many other Damages and Fines, of 10000 *l.* 20000 *l.* 40000 *l.* and 100000 *l.* The Truth of which, says Sir *John Hawles*, many Living Witnesses to their Sorrow can testify. The Tragedy of the Earl of *Essex*, is indeed a fit Subject for a *Secret History*, but the high Names that must be made use of, and the Care that consequently was taken to prevent such Proof as would silence all Gainfayers, forbids my treating of it too closely. From the Character of that Peer, his Vertue, strict Piety, and excellent Understanding, I could as soon believe,



lieve, that he would have kill'd his Father as himself. From the Circumstances of his Death, from the timing of it, I shall always remain satisfy'd in my self, that he had not fair Play. I remember to have read in a Book written on the *Irish Affairs*, that the Earl's Moderation to the *Catholicks* there, made the Duke of York think he was of his Party, and to get him continu'd in the Government of *Ireland*, when means were us'd to have him remov'd. But finding afterwards, that that Moderation cover'd a most warm Zeal for the *Protestant Religion*, and the *English Interest*, it contracted him, says the Author, the *Hatred of the Duke of York*, who from that time set up *Private Designs* against him. I know very well, what Arts were us'd to frustrate the officious Attempts of *Bradden* and *Speake*, to discover the Earl of *Essex's* Murder, so far as by Promise of Favour to his Family, to procure a Publick disowning them in it, in a Paper Sign'd by the *Dowager*. I am not to given to Visions, as to trust to the Evidence they produc'd to corroborate the General Suspicion, that he did not dye by his own Hands; but truly this I must say, that enough was attested before the Committee of the Lords, who examin'd that matter, to shew that if he was not murder'd, there never in any Case happen'd so many unlucky Accidents giving Cause to suspect it. What sways with me most, is the Day and Hour of his Death, and I perceive Persons of Gravity and Judge-

Judgment are as doubtful of the fairness of it as my self, particularly the late Solicitor General, in his Remarks on the Lord Russel's Tryal. He is speaking of his Lordship being Arraign'd, and Try'd the same Morning, notwithstanding he urg'd that his Witnesses could not be in Town till Night. Yet, says that Learned Lawyer, *The Respite till next Day was deny'd: All Persons agreed that there was extraordinary Reason for it, and before the Trial was over, the Riddle was out. My Lord of Essex was kill'd, or to be kill'd that Morning; they were sensible the Evidence against my Lord Russel was very defective, and that Accident was to help it out; but that wou'd not avail, unless it were a Surprizing Matter upon the Jury. Should the Jury have but a Day, or a Mornings Time to consider of it, People might have been talking with them, they might have been told what was true, that no Person kill'd, was in Law suppos'd to have kill'd himself, till a Coroner's Inquest had sat upon the view of his Body, and found it so. They might have been told a great many Circumstances of the improbability of the killing himself, which was silyly insinuated, and had its Effect; some of the Jury-Men saying, it went farther with them, than all the Evidence of the Witnesses produc'd. The Lord Howard of Escrick, who did the wicked Drudgery, to Swear this Lord and others, out of their Lives, for a Starving Pension, affected a wonderful Surprize when he heard it, dropt Crocodile Tears, and with Dissembled Grief, did what he could to move the Jury, as much as he seem'd to be*

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mov'd

mov'd himself. Such was the Injustice, Corruption and Cruelty of those Partial Jurors, there was no Prospect for *English Men* but Slavery and Misery. They had no Deliverer to look to, but the Prince of *Orange*, who liv'd outwardly in great Friendship with his Father-in-Law. He offer'd him, as has been hinted, his Troops and his Service against *Monmouth*, and tho' he had no Reason to be satisfy'd with the Returns that were made him, yet he resolv'd to have Patience. The same Resolution had the People of *England* under all their Sufferings, till King *James* attempted to have the Curse entail'd upon them, by destroying the Princess of *Orange's* Right of Succession, and bringing a suppositious Prince on the Stage, to ravish from Her her Inheritance. This was his last and most desperate Step, which made it of Absolute Necessity for the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, to assert their own Right in our Deliverance. Before the Papists would let King *James* proceed so far, Endeavours were us'd to gain the Prince and his Consort to consent to the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Test. There was about that time, a Paper written, call'd *A Memorial from the English Protestants, to their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange, concerning their Grievances, and the Birth of the Pretended Prince of Wales*. Address'd to Mr. *Bentinck*, and first Printed in *Novemb. 1688*. Whether it was actually Sign'd by any Person of Rank and Interest, or by any Number of Persons, whether it

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is the Invitation the Prince referr'd to in his Declaration, or that Invitation was *Viva Voce*, by *English* Lords and Gentlemen who went from *England* to *Holland*, for that purpose, I shall not here consider; or whether it was deliver'd at all to Mr. *Bentinck*, or was any more than a Scheme proper to answer the End of the Title; but it has the Air of a Writing drawn up with great Judgement and Deliberation, and not by a simple Person, but the agreement of Numbers, as shall be further inquir'd into. The Facts are true, and the Reasonings just, which will justify me in making use of it. I there find, that before the Priests incited King *James* to consent to so Scandalous an Imposition on himself and the Nation, as a Fictitious Child, all Councils were examin'd that had any Face of securing the Advantages that Popery might gain under him. It was propos'd, to bind up the Princess of *Orange* on Her Accession to the Crown, to such Conditions as were obtain'd in Parliament, in the Cases of Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth*, which they hop'd to strengthen, by the King's putting the *Papists* into Possession of all the Forts and Places of the Kingdom, united by the Power of the *French* King; by which means She should neither get nor keep Possession of the Throne, unless She submitted to, and depended on the *Papists*. They flatter'd themselves, that by the specious Name of *Liberty of Conscience*, by Closettings and Pensions, a Parliament might be Chosen to do this for them. But the



Wiser sort saw the Difficulty, or rather Impossibility of this Project; and those who had most Caution, and the best Fortunes, fearing a Mercenary Army, and a French Power, propos'd that his Majesty should try the Force of his Fatherly Authority with his Royal Highness, and use all the Arguments of Interest to reduce Her either to change her own Religion, or concur in a full Liberty to his. In this Business one *Stewart* was employ'd, who having been a Refugee at the *Hague*, was pardon'd by King *James*, and to make his Court, pretended a great Interest in Mr. *Fagel*, whom he undertook to perswade to transact this Affair with the Prince and Princess, in the Year 1687. *Stewart's* Letters to Mr. *Fagel*, the Pensionary of *Holland*, and Mr. *Fagel's* Answers, have been so often Printed, I shall only give an Abstract of them. The two first are Dated in *July*, and in them he exprest to have assured the Prince, "That the King was resolv'd  
" to maintain the true Right of Successi-  
" on to the Crown, and was very desirous  
" of their Highnesses Consent and Con-  
" currence to his Design, and troubled to  
" find them averse to it." In his next Letter of the same *July*, he prest Mr. *Fagel* to prevail with the Prince and Princess to admit a Trusty Messenger to inform them of Matters; and to dispose them to agree. In this, he is in mighty haste for an Answer, and it is thought that the Councils for bringing forth a Prince of *Wales*, were now set on Foot; not that they had not been

been thought of before ; but the Prince of *Orange* acted so warily, that the Court of *England* was almost deceiv'd by it one time, and the Priests brag'd he was come over to their Interests, tho' it was not yet seasonable for him to declare himself. But by this time they were satisfy'd of the contrary, and the last Letter threatened, that if their Highnesses were Obstinate, it would be fatal to the Dissenters, and he was afraid, wou'd produce Ills yet unheard of. In his Letter of *August 5*, he seems to give the Prince and Princess, their Choice of the Settlement of Popery, or to resolve to be True to the Protestant Religion. He says, if his Highness did what was desir'd by the King, it was the best Service to the Protestants, the highest Obligation on his Majesty, and the greatest Advancement of his own Interest that he could think on ; but if not, then all is contrary. His Highness's Opinion, given by Mr. *Fagel* in Answer to *Stewart's* Letter, and by the Marquis *D' Albyville*, King *James's* Minister at the *Hague*, who was also employ'd to press their Highness's on this Subject, was with Respect to Papists ; *For the Repealing all those Penal Laws, under which they lay by reason of their Religion, but he did not think it adviseable to repeal the Laws that excluded them from Sitting in Parliament and from Places of Trust.* This gave Content to the more Moderate Roman Catholics, but the Courtiers would have all or nothing, and from that time King *James* appear'd in all things extreamly alienated

from his Son and Daughter. He had doubtless a Struggle with his Honour, to consent to own an *Impostor*; and there is something so very base in the conniving at such a Cheat, which he was asham'd to confess afterwards, that I wonder how a King could submit to it. And surely none but a *Popish King* could do a thing which the meanest Wretch in his Kingdom would disown. Upon this Denial of the Prince to concur in the Repeal of the Penal Laws, the Queen was to make a Progress to the *Bath*, and *St. Winifred's Well*, to prepare People to the Report of Her Conception, which was resolv'd to be publish'd in *October*; but before it was Publicly declar'd, Mr. Stewart wrote Mr. Fagel, the 8th of that Month, *He would use no more Arguments, and lamented his Highness's Loss of the Time of Compliance.* In November he spoke more plainly, *That all hope of his Highness's Concurrence was given over, and Men were become as cold in it here, as the Prince and Princess were Positive there.*

The King dislik'd Mr. Fagel's Answer, gave that Matter over, and took a Resolution to prosecute his Design another way, which was to secure a *Popish Successor*: For my part, though I should not have valu'd the Pretender's Title a whit the better for his not being Suppositious, after the Acts of Settlement had otherwise dispos'd of the Crown, yet as little trouble as we have been at to prove him a *Pretender* only, I see no Reason to think better of him. It was about the end of

August,

August the King was heard to say with Anger, *The Prince and Princess of Orange were obstinate in their Errors, and thought to make themselves Popular with the Church of England, and he would trouble himself no more about them, but they should repent it.* The King did not doubt but the Parliament would have repeal'd the Test, he had offer'd a Protestant Successor's Consent, and despairing of that, it was first said that the Queen was with Child. Upon which the Papists triumph'd, and the Priests gave out boldly, that it would set aside her Royal Highness's Right to the Succession, though it were a Daughter; ignorantly and impudently affirming, *that if the Queen had a Daughter born after the King came to a Crown, she ought to succeed before a Daughter born when he was only a Duke*; But as the Memorial has it, none except Papists gave credit to the Report that she was with Child, and the Fable of the Dutcheis of *Modena's* Request in *Purgatory*, and the Lady of *Loretto's* helping her to Conceive a Son, for the sake of a fine Present, made all but the Papists believe it a meer Invention of the Priests. The Story took like a Popish Legend, and was a Matter of Laughter and Derision in Company, and of Raillery and Contempt in Lampoons, which were so common, that the Court seem to be infatuated, to imagine a Trick so generally discredited, and so negligently manag'd, would ever succeed.



The best Reason, and to me an Invin-  
cible one, that Queen *Mary* was not with  
Child, is the little Care she took to give  
unquestionable Evidence of it. After the  
manner of the Empress *Constantia*, Wife  
to *Henry VI*, Emperor of *Germany*; the  
Empress being in Years, and the People  
suspecting she was past Child-bearing, the  
Emperor gave abundant Proofs of her be-  
ing big, and of her Delivery; he prepar'd  
a Place in publick, where she remain'd till  
her Labour *Ventre Custodito*, with Keepers,  
that no Suppositious Child might possibly  
be convey'd to her, and there in sight of  
the Citizens and all the Matrons that  
would and could possibly approach her,  
(none being excluded) she brought forth  
a Prince, who was afterwards the Empe-  
ror *Frederick II*.

A Story of the same Nature is told of  
a Queen of *Arragon*, who was deliver'd  
in the Camp of the King her Husband's  
Brother, who had taken Arms to pro-  
cure Satisfaction as to the Reality of her  
Teeming.

And considering how Zealous Queen  
*Mary* was for her Religion; how her Heart  
was set on the recovering these Kingdoms  
to the Apostolick See, insomuch, that She  
is said to have told the Pope's Nuntio,  
*She hop'd by such a Time (naming it) to dine*  
*all the Hereticks in England for half a Crown,*  
*and that now they could not tell what to do;*  
Considering what an Affection she had  
for the *French* Interest, had she been really  
with Child, as Proud and Positive as she

was

was, knowing it was almost universally doubted, to prevent the ill Consequences of such a Doubt, she would certainly have rather been deliver'd at *Charing-Cross*, than in a Hurry unprovided of that Proof, which Custom and the Practice of *England* require. I am far from presuming to offer my own Sentiments, as of any weight, in the Dispute about *Queen Mary's* Pregnancy; but shall observe what others have thought and said of it, tho, as I said before, I think it is hardly worth while: For had *Queen Mary* been as Wise as the Empress *Constantia*, if her Son had been bred up in a Popish Tyrannical Court, and our Crown settled on so good a Queen, and a Protestant Succession after her, he should still have been as much a Pretender to me as he is now, notwithstanding the Madness of some Bigots have endeavour'd to reconcile the Revolution and *Hanover* Succession to the Divine and Hereditary Right of Princes. Some of the Circumstances of the Child's being Suppositious, are, that the Queen by Sickness and Infirmities was disabled from bringing forth a Living Child. The famous *Dr. Willis* shew'd that Opinion to his Brethren, of one of her Children when she was much stronger, saying there were *Mala Stamina Vita*. Her Majesty's Pregnancy was not only doubted at Home but Abroad, and Pamphlets were publish'd in several Countries, declaring the Report of the Queen's being with Child to be only an Artifice of the Jesuits

Jesuits to advance the Interest of *France* and Popery.

The Custom in *England* in every such Case, is to give Notice to the next Heir of the approaching Delivery of the Queen, which was not done; she never had the first most Natural known and common Sign of Conception, her *Mensis Profluvium* continu'd, her Breasts never swell'd, nor was there any Milk ever seen in them. All the outward Parts of her Body that incompasses the Womb, were of the same Proportion they were at other times; she, contrary to her former usual Course, always withdrew into her Cabinet or some other private Room, when she chang'd her Linnen, and would never suffer any Protestant Lady to be by. The Place of her intended Lying in was often publish'd so variously, that none of those Ladies could know how to prepare themselves for Attendance. It was resolv'd to be at *St. James's* three Weeks before it was expected. It was told her, it was not possible for her Lodgings to be got ready, she then said *she would lie on the Floor*. Her Royal Highness the Princess of *Denmark* was kept at the Bath by the Advice of Physicians instructed for that purpose till the time was over. The Queen was late at Cards on *Saturday* Night very well, and on a sudden said *she would lie at St. James's*, and she cry'd out the next Day about Ten a Clock, so ordering it, that the Protestant Ladies might be at Church, and the Trick over before they

they return'd, that the Midwife and the Favourite might have opportunity to act their several Parts. The Room pitch'd upon was fit for the purpose; there was a private Door within the Rail of the Bed into a Room from whence a Child might be secretly brought and put into the Bed unseen by any that should attend in the Queen's Room, though at the Feet of the Bed, none of them coming into the Rail; and by that Door the three Confidents, the Midwife, Mrs. *Labadie*, and Mrs. *Tourain* brought into her Majesty's Bed what they pleas'd unseen. All the Transactions were manag'd by that secret Door, as is well known to all those Lords of the Council who were brought for a shew, not to see any thing that was done, but only to be seen in the Bed-Chamber with the King, that their Names might be publish'd to the People.

The Midwife's Preparatories were not in a readiness, so hasty was the Queen and her Creatures to have it over; she lay in Bed with all the Curtains round close drawn; and when every thing was prepar'd in the inner Chamber, her Majesty began to act her Part in the feign'd Travail, the three Confidents bringing every thing by the Door in the Wall by the Queen's Bed-side, among which the *Memorial* tells us, were a Child and every thing that Naturally attends a Birth. I do not pretend to go so far, to say it was so, I only repeat the Circumstances that might



might reasonably give Jealousy. The thing being so done, is enough to convince me, as I have already said, though how the Imposture was manag'd, I am affraid will never be fully discover'd; such is the Fidelity of Popish Councils, when their Religion is concerned. Other suspicious Circumstances from the same Authority, are, the three Women seem'd very busy about her Majesty in the dark, none seeing what they did, and being afraid, as appear'd by the Midwife's Words, that the Child which was prepar'd to sleep, to prevent its crying before it was got into Bed, should be stifled by the closeness of it, they were forc'd to hasten the Queen's pretended Delivery, beyond what was reasonably to be believ'd. What follows I take Verbatim. " But nothing appear'd in  
" her Majesty like the real Natural  
" Travail of a Woman in Child-bearing;  
" there were none of the usual Natural  
" Signs in her Majesty of being in real  
" Travail, which cannot be hidden. There  
" was no appearance of approaching Labour by various Intermitting Pangs.  
" No shew of the Pains naturally and  
" gradually increasing. No signs of her  
" Majesty's known Weakness in bearing  
" such Pangs, all that was to be feign'd  
" was suddenly dispatch'd, and the Midwife deliver'd something close cover'd  
" to Mrs. *Labadie*, which could be nothing but the Child they had put in, and  
" went in together thro the Privy Door,  
within

“ within the Rail of the Bed into the next  
“ Room in so great haste, that it was not  
“ consider’d how plainly it might disco-  
“ ver that all was counterfeit, the Mid-  
“ wife leaving her Majesty in those Mo-  
“ ments when there was the greatest  
“ Necessity of her Skill and Assistance.  
“ None of either Sex was permitted to  
“ see any thing done about her Majesty,  
“ or her suppos’d Child, but the three  
“ Confidants; no other of those in the  
“ Bed-Chamber that drew as near as they  
“ might, was suffer’d to see what was  
“ taken out of the Bed, being something  
“ wholly cover’d, and immediately car-  
“ ried away thro’ the Private Door. The  
“ crying of a Child was heard by none.  
“ During the whole fictitious Travail of the  
“ Queen, and a considerable Time after  
“ it, his Majesty kept those Lords of the  
“ Council that were call’d, not far from  
“ the Feet of her Majesty’s Bed, that were  
“ close shut up. They neither saw nor  
“ heard any thing about the Birth of the  
“ suppos’d Prince, of which they cou’d be  
“ Lawful Witnesses. After long waiting  
“ the King left them, and went into the  
“ Inner Room to Mrs. *Labadie*; and it  
“ was soon after said a Prince was born :  
“ And so little cautious were the Conspi-  
“ rators to carry on this Plot artfully,  
“ that after the Delivery there was no  
“ Appearance in the Queen of the Natu-  
“ ral Effects of Child-bearing, tho’ it was  
“ so easy to be disssembled. They seem’d  
to defy Suspicion, assuring themselves,  
that

that when it was said a Prince was brought forth, and a lusty lovely one, if they cou'd not force Belief they cou'd force Obedience. I do not lay any other stress on all this Circumstantial Evidence, than as it helps to corroborate what I was determin'd to believe by the Weakness or Negligence of the Court, in not putting this Matter out of all Question, which was in their Power, and of the last Importance: Whereas, tho' they knew there was not one in five hundred who believ'd a Word of the Conception; yet they seem'd to leave nothing undone that might confirm People in their Suspicions.

As to the Depositions of the Lords and Ladies on that Subject, when King *James* was frighted with the Rumour of the Prince's Preparations, there were none almost found among the Witnesses, but such as were suspected Persons, Officers, Pensioners, and the King's Domestick Servants, besides the Queen *Dowager*, and all her Majesty and most part of what the Lords and Ladies said may be true; yet the Child that was born not be born of the Queen. For says another Author of Note, who wrote two or three Years after, *The Assistants who are at the Beds Feet, and in a Corner of the Chamber, knew not what was laid in the Bed, nor whence it came which was taken out of it.* The main Objection to these Circumstances is, why was there not sufficient Proof of this? Why because there was no need of it: The Parliament of *England* had voted the Throne Vacant, fill'd

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it with King *William* and Queen *Mary*, which gave them the best Title in the World; and it would have been to have weaken'd it, to allow any doubt of a Right in the *Pretender*. Princes are too Jealous of the Dignity of their Crown, to admit of Controverting their Title. *Henry* the VII. and Queen *Elizabeth* would never suffer any Ads in their Defence; tho' one had been attainted, and the other disinherited by Parliament. The Possession of the Crown takes off all Stains, and a Parliamentary Settlement conveys such a Right, that whether the Child was Legitimate or Illegitimate, he had no more Pretence to it, I hope, than his Father, whom we abdicated for endeavouring to establish Popery and Arbitrary Power; and for the same Reason shall, I hope, for ever abhor Subjection to his Son. It is not to be doubted but the Prince and Princess of *Orange* were the more ready to protect us, when they saw their Rights invaded as well as ours; and what their Highnesses thought of the Pretended Birth, may be seen in the Prince's Declaration, express'd with great Modesty: *There are great Presumptions that oblige us to believe, that those Evil Counsellors (for promoting their own Pernicious Designs, and for gaining of Time to execute them) spread a Report that the Queen was delivered of a Son; that during this pretended Bigness of the Queen, as well as in the Circumstances of the Birth, and the Methods that were used for the Management of it, there appeared so many just and*  
visible



visible Suspicions, that the pretended Prince of Wales was not brought into the World by the Queen. I must not forget with what Confidence the Papists and their Abettors declar'd many Months before the pretended Birth, that it would be a Prince. This they did more positively in Ireland, where they were Masters of less Wit and more Impudence. As soon as it was reported the Queen was with Child, the Irish said it wou'd be a Son ; and a Gentleman of that Country writes, they were so certain of it, they would lay 20 Guineas to One, or any other Wager in Proportion, from the highest to the lowest among them. This Assurance was much wonder'd at by the English, and judged to be very Extravagant, if not built upon some private Grounds and Inducement, which I leave the Reader to guess at ; and which some amongst them were certainly acquainted with, whose Discourses among the rest created in them a Belief of some extraordinary Design then in Agitation. Enough of this ; and I am afraid too much for the sake of some scrupulous Persons, who for fear of being thought Credulous, affect to disbelieve every thing that has not the Evidence of Sense with it, and will allow no Circumstances in the Method of Proof. The Enemies of the Government laugh at them, and have always found Friends to imitate them in those that pretend to side with it. I have not said so much because I think it not necessary, but because I would leave with the Impartial Reader sufficient Grounds to confirm his Suspicions. And since King James knew by the  
general

general Vogue, that he was accus'd of a Design to leave the Crown to a Suppositious Prince, and refused to call a Free Parliament to decide the Matter, which the Prince of *Orange* demanded, as well as for the Re-establishment of the Laws; since he left the Kingdom, carry'd away the Child and all the chief Witnesses. In short, since he did whatever he could to increase People's Jealousy, and to hinder the detecting the Fraud, let there be any thing or nothing in the *Jure Divino*, the Authority of the Nation cou'd not look on that Child but as an Impostor, and the Prince of *Orange* being a Sovereign, injur'd in his Right to the Succession of three Kingdoms, is justity'd in taking Arms to assert it.

'Tis not question'd but the Court at the *Hague* had an Eye all along to that of *England*, while the latter was invading the Laws, and destroying the Religion and Liberties of the Country, which had been effected entirely, had the Prince and Princess of *Orange* been excluded the Succession, and it is probable, that as soon as the Report began to spread of a Child, and a Son, to be born, Applications were made to their Highness's to deliver us, to which they could not then but have a very favourable Disposition, Honour, Religion and Interest perswading them to it.

I shall conclude this Head with some judicious Observations on it, in a Paper publish'd four or five Months after King

William was proclaim'd. " To impos  
 " upon the People a suspected Heir, i  
 " prejudice of the Lawful uncontrove  
 " ted one, is an Action of the same Natur  
 " as that of *Alienating the Kingdom*; and  
 " one and the same Reason enforces th  
 " Lawfulness of both. Thus the the  
 " Prince of *Orange*, in right of his Prin  
 " cess the Lawful Uncontroverted Hei  
 " in Reversion to the Crown of *England*  
 " seeing him that was upon the Thron  
 " so far abandon himself to bad and de  
 " structive Councils, as to set up a Pre  
 " tended Heir in such a manner, and  
 " with such improbable Circumstances  
 " as gave occasion to the whole King  
 " dom to suspect the Truth of it  
 " had the justest Ground in the World  
 " to make War upon a Prince who had  
 " abus'd his Power, and endeavour'd to  
 " defraud him and his Princess of their  
 " just Right of Reversion to the Crown  
 " and this he might do the rather, since  
 " King *James* and he were upon equal  
 " Ground, as to a Right of making War  
 " one upon another, being both Sove  
 " reigns, and independent of one another  
 " Further, though this Prince of *Wales*  
 " were a genuine one, as I scarce can be  
 " lieve the Roman Catholicks themselves  
 " are perswaded that he is, the Prince  
 " of *Orange* had yet a justifiable Title to  
 " make War against King *James* upon the  
 " Ground of *Common Fame*, which fix  
 " upon him the Injustice of imposing  
 " Suppositious Heir upon the Nation  
 " merely

"merely to extinguish the former Right  
"in the then Princess of *Orange's* Person.  
"For 'tis agreed by all Lawyers, That in  
"a dubious Case, even a colourable Title,  
"warrants one Sovereign Prince to make  
"War upon another. Now as to the pre-  
"tended Prince of *Wales*, the Infatuati-  
"on of Popish Councils never appear'd  
"with greater Aggravations, than in the  
"management of that Affair. The Me-  
"thods and Conduct us'd during the late  
"Queen's pretended Bigness, and at her  
"Lying in, with all the concurring Cir-  
"cumstances, were such as King *James's*  
"greatest Enemies would have wish'd  
"them; and they seem to have been  
"concerted and calculated for this very  
"end to perswade the World, that  
"there was a suspected Child impos'd up-  
"on them in that Birth. Nay, the De-  
"positions publish'd afterwards by way  
"of an After-Game, did naturally aggra-  
"vate the Jealousies of thinking People,  
"instead curing them.

I cannot pretend to let the Reader  
into the Secret of the Correspondence  
that was maintain'd by the Nobility and  
Gentry of *England* and the Court at the  
*Hague*, whether Gentlemen were con-  
tinually going, and some always residing  
there to support and cultivate it. as Mr. *Sid-*  
*ney*, Sit *Robert Peyton*, Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, Dr.  
*Burnet*, and others. The Nobility going and  
coming with all the Caution imaginable,  
the *French* and *English* Ministers watching  
them very narrowly. The Lord *Mor-*



*daunt*, now Earl of *Peterborough*, had been some time in Disgrace at the *English* Court, as also the Earl of *Macclesfield*, though no Family in *England* had deserv'd more of the Crown. The Lord *Mordaunt's* Father being in great Peril of a shameful Death, for conspiring to restore King *Charles II*, and the Earl of *Macclesfield*, then Lord *Brandon*, being a Companion of his Exile. The Earl of *Wiltshire* was sent to *Holland* by his Father the Marquis of *Winchester*, whose Father's Services and Sufferings for the Royal Cause had been forgotten, and the Marquis forced to affect a Disorder in his Understanding, which was otherwise very good, to save himself from his Enemies, who had misrepresented him to the King. The Earl of *Shrewsbury*, tho first Protestant of the Line of *Talbot*, who possess'd that Earldom, had not been long at the *Hague* before the Embarkation of the Troops for the Expedition to *England* was talk'd of. Colonel *Sydney* is said to have been at *Rome* on that Errand, when *Castlemain* was there on another. It is certain the Pope was a Friend to the Revolution, and that all the Princes in *Christendom*, who were not in the *French* Interest, wish'd well to it. The *English* Nobility and Gentry apply'd themselves to the *States General* as well as to the Prince of *Orange*, as appears by the following Account of it given by *John Hampden Esq*, who was well acquainted with all the Steps taken in that great and necessary Design.

This

*This Deplorable State of Things, says he, in a Treatise written by him, Awaken'd the Minds of those of our Gentry and Nobility, who had any thing remaining in them, of the English Love of Liberty, and impatience of Slavery, which has so often rescu'd this Nation from the Brink of Ruin. They saw to what the Necessity of Self-defence oblig'd them, and resolv'd to shake off the Yoke they could not bear. In order to this, many of them apply'd to some Principal Members of the States-General of the United Provinces, and to the Prince of Orange (their Stadtholder and Captain-General) representing to them, how nearly they were concerned in what then past in England, which was but one Branch of the Designs driven on by the French King and his Adherents, for enslaving all Europe, and rooting out what they call'd the Northern Heresy, both Name and Thing. They shew'd them, that if they suffer'd the Conspiracy of our Common Enemies to go any further, they would infallibly be involv'd in our Ruin, and that very speedily, and must necessarily fall under the French Yoke, of which they had felt the weight in the Years 1672 and 1673, and had lately heard more of it from those great Numbers of French Protestants who had taken Refuge in their Country. They intimated how Glorious it would be for them to become the Sanctuary of Opprest Innocence.*

*They put them in mind of what had heretofore been done for their Republick by the English Nation, when they had newly*

cast off the *Spanish* Tyranny, and were forc'd to implore the Succour of their Neighbours against a Power which then carried on the same Designs, and much by the same Methods which we have seen copy'd from them by the *French* in our Time. They convinc'd them, that all Reasons of Gratitude, Humanity, Policy and Christianity concurr'd to incline them to comply with their Request in putting to their Helping Hand for the opposing a Bank to that Torrent which otherwise would overflow all *Christendom*. Neither was this Business of a Nature to admit delay, they prov'd to them by Reasons unanswerable, that if they slipt the Opportunity then in their Hands, by the *French* King's drawing his Forces to the *Upper Rhine*, to begin the War by the Siege of *Philipsburgh*, (which was occasion'd by the false Intelligence he had receiv'd from his Ambassadors and Pensioners in our Court, who being intoxicated with some late Successes, despis'd the People at a great Rate, and thought it below them to get Information of those they call'd *Malecontents*) I say, if they let pass that Occasion of helping us, it would in all probability be too late to attempt any thing hereafter. The two Kings hoping by their joynt Counsels in a short time to put both the *Dutch* and *English* out of Capacity of disputing their Pleasure.

All these Arguments, and the Instances of our worthy Countrymen, prevail'd to that degree, that the States resolv'd to lend us their best Troops, and accordingly the Forces

Forces were order'd to rendezvous near *Nimeguen*, not far from the Elector of *Brandenburgh's* Camp, who had march'd his Army thither to act in Conjunction with the Confederates, allarm'd by the *Dauphin's* Hostilities in *Germany*. The Prince's frequent Journies to the Army, had given Allarm to the Count *d' Avaux* and the Marquis *d' Albyville*, Ambassadors of *England* and *France* at the *Hague*, especially when there was an Interview between the Prince and the Marquis *de Castanaga*, Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands* on the Frontiers, wherein Matters were concerted for the Defence of those Provinces, in the Prince's Absence. The Prince's Friends gave out that it was about some Affairs depending between his Highness and the Count *de Solre*, concerning certain Lands in the Dependency of *Candè*, *France* having undertaken the Protection of that Count; whereas the true Reason of that Interview, and all the Prince's extraordinary Motions at that time was, his Glorious Design to save *Europe* from the Slavery that threatned her. This was in *August*, and though the Marquis *de Albyville* went to *London* about that time, so secret were the Prince's Councils, that *K. James* had no manner of Notice of His Highness's Intentions; to disguise which, he happily made use of the Rupture between *France* and the Empire, as a Colour for his Military Preparations. And the whole Expedition was manag'd



with so much Secrecy and Caution, as fully confirm'd the Character which Common Justice extorted from the Mouth of his Enemy the *French King*, who said of him, that he was *Le Mellieur Homme le Cabinet en l' Europe. The Greatest Man of Council in Europe.*

The Prince having detach'd from his and the Elector of *Brandenburg's* Camp what Forces he thought necessary for his Expedition, the King of *Sweden* most generously offer'd to supply the *Dutch* with an equal Number of Troops, and did it, or the States would have been fearful of venturing such an Army Abroad, when so formidable an Enemy threatned them at Home. At the same time that Care was taken to procure a sufficient Number of Land-Forces, Orders were sent to the several Cities of *Holland* to have so many Ships of War and so many Transports in readiness by such a Day, which was executed with all possible Chearfulness and Expedition. There was not a Man in *Holland* (Papists only excepted) who was heard to murmur at the Charge and Hazard of this Enterprize, Men, Women and Children lifted up their Prayers to Heaven for the Success of his Highness and the Deliverance of *England*. What are the Returns we are now making them for their good Wishes and Assistance? And could any one have then imagin'd, that in little more than twenty Years the same People should be as fond of *France* as they were then of *Holland*.

I am

I am ashamed to make these Reflections on our Dear Country, so near the Brink of Ruin, so happily deliver'd and so ungrateful to their Deliverers. Both the Prince and States kept up the Forms that are usual between Nations and Kingdoms not in War, and King *James* continu'd to write Letters of Civility, till near the time of the Expedition, and the King's States-men complain'd, that the Secret of a Business which wholly depended on the Secret, was not communicated to them, though it would have shewn the Court at the *Hague* to be as ill Politicians as those at *Whitehal*, to give them an opportunity to obstruct the Design, by calling in *French* Forces, which were offer'd, and had been accepted, if the *English* Ministers had not thought 40000 for so many the King had in Arms in his three Kingdoms, were not enough to beat 14000.

While these Transactions were carry'd in *Holland*, the Lords and Gentlemen in *England* had constant Advice of the Progress of the Preparations, and Matters were concerted for their appearing in Arms in *England*, upon the Prince's landing. In *July* one *Joseph Flight* brought over near fourscore Letters to as many of the Prime Nobility and Gentry, and carry'd back Answers with great Dispatch and Safety. The Government being then lull'd asleep with the Imagination of their future Security in the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and every one that came from  
Hol-

*Holland* was too welcome to need fear so strict an Examination as the Disposition of the two Courts required.

It was *September* before King *James* had any certain Notice from *France*, that the State's Preparations were intended against him, and the fear of the impending Storm, threw his Court into a Confusion, that is not to be express'd. In all this Affair, the Church of *England* Party, especially the Clergy, show'd a warmth worthy of the Truth and Purity of their Religion. The chief Divines of *London* preach'd continually against Popery and Dr. *Sherlock* was particularly remarkable for exciting his Auditory in one of his Sermons to exert themselves in the Defence of their Holy Faith and Civil Liberties, which he did in Terms that were much stronger than Seditious, and so would have been adjudg'd, had King *James* succeeded as well as the Prince did.

The first Opposition from the Layety was in the Army, and by Men of the highest Church Principles, as Lieutenant Collonel *Beaumont*, Unkle to Sir *George Beaumont*, Collonel *Patson*, and the Officers of the Duke of *Berwick's* Regiment at *Portsmouth*, who for refusing to admit *Irishmen* into the Regiment they had rais'd at their own Costs, during *Monmouth's* Rebellion, were sent for up by a Guard to be try'd by a Court Martial, and had been hang'd, if the News of the intended Descent had not been told them by the

the French Ambassador the very Morning they were to have been try'd, so they were only cashier'd. The Resolutions of these Officers one would think should have shewn King James that he must not depend on a Protestant Army to bring in Popery, and have inclin'd him to have taken just Measures, to have call'd a Free Parliament, and have sav'd his Crown; but his Bigotry was always triumphant, and it is reported, that he should before this, tell Father Petre, *He had rather Reign but one Year to an End, and Die a Martyr with the Conversion of England, Scotland and Ireland, to the Roman Faith, than Reign Thirty Years prosperously, and at his Death leave them in Heresy as he found them.*

And thus giving himself up blindly to the Wicked and Pernicious Councils of his Queen and her Priests, every Step he took, tended to his and their Destruction. So rash and so inconstant were all his Proceedings. The 20th of September, about 14 Days after he receiv'd the first certain Advice of the Prince's Preparations for England, he publish'd a Declaration, *That he would Call a Parliament to settle Liberty of Conscience, and that only the Penalties of the Acts of Uniformity should be repeal'd*; which was done to cajole the Church Party, who were too much sower'd to be satisfi'd with Words, and were resolv'd to stand heartily by the Prince of Orange, to procure a thorough Settlement of the Nation in Church and State, on the

Foot



Foot of the Old Foundation. In this Fright, the Church-Men who had been turn'd out of the Commission of the Peace, were restor'd, and on the 24th of September, the following Letter was sent to the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury.

MY LORD,

**T**HE King thinking it requisite to speak with your Grace, and several others of the Bishops, who are within a convenient distance of this Place; his Majesty commands me to acquaint you, That he would have you attend him upon Friday next, at Ten in the Morning.

Whitehal, Sept.  
24, 1688.

My LORD,

I am your most Faithful, &c.

S U N D E R L A N D.

Letters to the same Purpose, and of the same Date (or about that Time) were sent to the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Chichester, Rochester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough and Bristol, who all but London and Bristol, came to Town, and all but the Arch-Bishop, waited on the King at the Time appointed, when little or nothing passing between His Majesty and them, beyond general Expressions of his Favour and their Duty, the Bishops intreated the Arch-Bishop to procure them a second and more particular Audience, wherein they

they might all deliver their Plain and Sincere Sense of things, as they saw the dangerous Condition of the Church and State then requir'd from them. The Arch-Bishop obtain'd of the King, that they should be admitted to a full Liberty of Speech, on the *Tuesday* after, which I hint, because that Admission was afterwards put off to *Wednesday*, that the King might have an Opportunity to Summon several Eminent Citizens to Council the Evening before, to whom he declar'd publicly, his Purpose to restore the City Charter; His Majesty having perhaps some Private Intimation, that the Bishops from the beginning of their Consultations, had fix'd upon that to be one of their Principal Petitions. The Bishops spent all *Monday* at *Lambeth*, in preparing their Humble Advice, and on *Wednesday* the third of *October*, the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *Ely*, *Chichester*, *Rocheſter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, and *Peterborough*, waited on the King, to whom the Arch-Bishop spoke in their behalf, and desir'd Leave to suggest to his Majesty, such Advices as they thought proper at that Season; which being granted, the Arch-Bishop propos'd as follows, That the King would put the Government of the several Counties, into Qualify'd Hands. To annul the Ecclesiastical Commission Court, and Erect no other such. Not to dispense with any Unqualifi'd Person in Office in Church or State. To set aside all Licences for Papists to teach Schools. To desist from the Exercise of the Dispensing Power, and leave that Matter to  
be

be settled in Parliament. To Inhibit the Foreign Bishops from Invading the Jurisdiction of the Bishops of this Church. To fill the Vacant Bishopricks in England and Ireland. To Supersede the Quo Warranto's. To Call a Parliament. To permit the Bishops to perswade his Majesty to return to the Communion of the Church of England. These Advices were offer'd says the Bishop of Rochester in his Letter to the Earl of Dorset, " When the  
 " King thought of nothing less than  
 " Victory, when in all Humane Probabi-  
 " lity, he was the strongest both by Sea  
 " and Land; when, as yet, there was  
 " no appearance of such a prodigious  
 " Alienation of his Subjects Affections;  
 " when at least his Army was thought  
 " to be still firm to him; when the very  
 " Winds and Seas seem'd hitherto as much  
 " on his side, as they all afterwards turn'd  
 " against him. " This is sure, that the  
 Advice those Prelates gave, was Faithful  
 and Reasonable, and if the King had fol-  
 low'd it, He might have kept his Crown  
 to his Death. But was not this what Sir  
 Thomas Powis said at the Bishop's Tryal, to  
 tell the King *He had acted illegally*; and  
 was not that, as the same Learned and  
 Eloquent Knight affirm'd then, *Malitious  
 and Seditious*, of which we have already  
 taken some Notice, and of the Fury the  
*Papists* were in against those Reverend Fa-  
 thers, for giving this wholesome Council.  
 One of their Writers having set the  
 Prince of Orange's Declaration, and the  
 Bishops Ten Proposals on the same Foot,  
 and

and that they were so; the Bishop of *Rocheſter* who was one of them, values himſelf upon it, in the above-mention'd Letter, in which he ſays, One thing further I muſt obſerve, as very remarkable in this Affair, *That if the exact Time of this our Addreſs to King James at Whitehal, ſhall be compar'd with the Day of the Prince of Orange, his preſent Maſteſty ſetting forth his firſt Declaration in Holland, they will be found to bear very near the ſame Date. For our Addreſs here was form'd at Lambeth, on Monday October 1. and ſhould have been deliver'd on Tueſday the Second, and was actually preſented on Wedneſday the Third, and the Declaration was Sign'd there on the Tenth of October; which conſidering the Two Stiles, makes little or no difference. And if I might preſume to compare ſmall things with great in the Matter of them, as well as in the Date, I would venture to ſay, that moſt of the very ſame Grievances, which his Highneſs inſiſted on in his Declaration, except one or two that were too high for a Subject to meddle with, were ſo early repreſented by us, as Things neceſſary to be ſpeedily redreſt. The King calls the Prince of Orange's Declaration, a *Reaſonable Paper*. The Biſhop is Proud that their *Propoſals* is ſo like it. Where now is the *Unlimited Unconditional Obedience*, and the *Loyalty without Reſerve*? Is it not all Grimace, and the Language of Safety and Wantonneſs. In Times of Peril, when thoſe that made the Clamour about it lately, were touch'd themſelves, we find Petitions and Addreſſes of another Nature, ſuch as are put on the level*



level with Treason; and had not Providence blest the Cause of King *William* for our Deliverance, the Price had been much same as well as the Guilt. We see what were the Sentiments and Practices of the Church in *K. James's* Reign, and at his Abdication: If any one can think those Men in earnest, that Write, and Preach otherwise now, they must have as little Understanding as the others have Honesty, or they wou'd perceive 'tis an Old Cheat, which can bubble none but Fools and Bigots.

Captain *Langham*, who belong'd to one of the *English* Regiments in *Holland*, was about that time seiz'd coming from thence on Suspicion, and in his Portmanteau was found a Bundle of the Prince's Declarations, the first that were brought over. When the King heard that Passage in it, *That the Prince was most earnestly Invited hither, by divers Lords both Spiritual and Temporal, and by many Gentlemen and others of all Ranks, &c.* He seem'd in a great Surprize and Passion, and immediately sent for the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Bishops of *London*, *Peterborough* and *Rocheſter*, who were nearest at hand to attend him, fixing a Short Day for that purpose; On which he oblig'd them to present him under their Hands a Writing, Signifying their Abhorrence of the *Pr. of Orange's* Invasion. Those Bishops attended, and great Throngs were at Court, expecting the Issue of that Conference; both the Friends and Enemies of the Church, being equally impatient to know

know what they would do in that difficult Moment. The King himself told them, *He thought his good Success exceedingly depended upon their ready Compliance with his Command of Abhorring*; and as soon as he saw them, he call'd with great Earnestness for the Paper, which he intended should be incerted in a Proclamation against the Prince of Orange's Declaration. The Bishops with all Submission, desir'd to be excus'd from writing any thing of that Nature, and from making a particular Defence to a General Accusation, lest they should give the First Precedent of that kind, against the *Privilege of Peers*. Besides, their Profession being to promote Peace, they thought it belong'd not to them to Declare War; especially against a Prince so nearly Ally'd to the Crown. But the King insist'd on it, argu'd and expostulated with them, *His Speech* being more than ordinary vehement, and Expressions more transported than ever. The Bishops persisted in their Refusal of the *Abhorrence*, and one of the Chief of the Popish Party at Court, was so enrag'd, that in a Heat, *He advis'd to have 'em all Imprison'd, and the Truth extorted from them by Violence*. The King durst not at so Critical a Juncture, make that Experiment of Arbitrary Power, so he flung from them with Indignation. In the foregoing Pages, mention has been made of the Petition Sign'd by their Lordships, and the Temporal Peers. When it was drawn up, the Marquiss of *Hallifax*, the

Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Nottingham, and the Earl of Carberry, would have had a Clause incerted, that the Peers who had joyn'd the Prince, might Sit in the *Free Parliament*, for which they Petition'd, but the other Lords thought the Clause needless.

If we were to judge only by the Characters of the Lords and Gentlemen that came over with the King, and those that joyn'd him, we shall see that the *Revolution*, which was brought about by the most Glorious and Necessary *Resistance*, that ever Nation made against Arbitrary Power, was the Work of the Church of *England*. We shall see that the Church was so far from being asham'd of it, that She Glory'd in it, in the Declaration of Her *Most Eminent Sons* in all Parts of this Kingdom, when they had taken Arms for the Prince of *Orange*, before King *James* had left us. We shall see by the Speeches and Writings of the best Church-Men, that they would not lose the Honour of effecting what some of them pretend now to abhor, at least the Principles by which it was effected. No Man can doubt the Bishop of *Rochester's* Affection to the Church, and the Soundness of his Doctrine ever since the *Restoration*. The Services he did the Crown, in several Histories, is too Notorious to need any expatiating upon. And how he values himself on the Share he had in the Abdicating King *James*, will be seen by these two or three Paragraphs of the Let

ter to my Lord Dorset, I have already made use of. If your Lordships Leisure would permit me to look back further, and to recount what was written each Day, and suffer'd by the Members of the Church of England in General, during that Reign, 'twere easie to recollect so many Memorable Instances of unshaken Truth and Courage in the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy and Commonalty of our Country Men, in maintaining our Religion against Rome, and our Laws against Unlimited Power, as might well furnish sufficient Materials for an ample Relation. I know it was formerly a Popular Objection of divers misguided Dissenters from the Church of England, That our Principles were too Monarchial, &c We carried the Doctrine of Obedience farther than might be consistent with the Safety of a Protestant Church, or the Privileges of a Free People. But it is now hop'd, that the strongest Argument of all others, which is Experience from undoubted Matter of Fact, has put this Objection for ever out of Countenance; since it is undeniable, that during the whole Time, when our Civil and Spiritual Liberties were in such Danger, the greatest and most considerable Stop that was here put to the Arts of Rome, and Intrigues of France, was by the Steady Resolution of the True Sons of the Church of England. Pray mind, here's a stop put to the Intrigues of France, as well as to the Arts of Rome, by the True Sons of the Church. And the True Sons of the Church, will always put a stop to those Intrigues. The False deluded unthinking Sons always did, and always will promote those In-



trigues, and were equally Friends to *France* and *Rome*, not out of Inclination either to the one or the other, but because they could never maintain themselves in the Stations they Usurp'd, but by siding both with *Rome* and *France*. And this Bishop has most justly given a Mark of a *True Son of the Church*, by which he was then, and will be always known, his being an Enemy to *French* Intrigues, and *Roman* Arts. Let that still be the Mark, and let those that wear it have their Desert, which is the only way to make this Church and Nation Great and Happy. I shall not repeat all the Bishop says on this pleasing Subject, for nothing can be more Pleasant than to see what a Hand our Church had in saving the State. I shall conclude with the Words of that Prelate, 'Twill be sufficient to affirm once for all, that the main Body of those who made so brave a Stand, were all of the Church of England, and the Principles on which they stood, were all Church of England Principles. And to shew further what these Bishops were in the King's Opinion, we need only remember a saying of his, when he heard that the City of *London*, the Counties of *York* and *Kent* design'd to Address him for some Accommodation with the Prince, who refer'd all to that Free Parliament, the Prelates Petition'd for, which was, *That he should look upon all those as Enemies, that should pretend to advise him to Treat with the Invader of his Kingdom.* The Share Foreign Princes had in the Revolution, has been

been before hinted. All that were Confederates in the future War against *France*, were acquainted with the Design and Assisting to it, by the Troops they lent to the Prince, or to the *Dutch*, to supply the Place of such as he had from them. *Don Pedro de Ronquillo*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, deliver'd out the Prince's Declarations himself, and it was pleasant afterwards to observe the mistaken Zeal of the Populace, who fell upon that Minister's House for being a *Papist*, thinking he had been an Enemy to the Cause which he had done what he could to advance. They plunder'd it as they did the Popish Chapels, but ample Satisfaction was given him, after the Kingdom was settled under King *William* and Queen *Mary*. The Company in which the Pr. of *Orange* came to *England*, is an evident Proof of the good Disposition of the Orthodox Part of this Kingdom, to resist King *James*, if he had disputed the Deliverance he intended us.

The Earl of *Macclesfield* withdrew himself into *Holland*, while the Duke of *Monmouth* was preparing for his Unfortunate Expedition.

The Reverend Doctor *Burnet*, who had drawn upon him the Hatred of the *Romish Faction*, for his History of the *Reformation*, was by Court Practices procur'd to be accus'd of High Treason in *Scotland*, which the Laws of *England* would not have admitted. Of the hand that Learned Divine, now Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, had

in this Undertaking, his Lordship will himself leave large Memoirs in that excellent History he has been long writing *Of his own Times*; no Body being better qualify'd to do it than himself, having been a main Actor in the great Affairs of them, tho' it was long before the *Friends to the Revolution*, could engage him in that Design, and not till he saw the whole Constitution of *England* in Church and State subverted.

Col. Sydney went first over to *Holland*, under pretence of going to the *Spaw*, and maintain'd a constant Correspondence with the Heads of the Party in *England*, who were to act here as was concerted abroad, among whom, the most Eminent were the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Devonshire*, the Marquiss of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Danby*, *Thomas Wharton*, Esq; *John Hampden*, Esq; *Henry Powle*, Esq; &c. Nor must we forget the Aldermen and Citizens of *London*, who were as deep in the Business as any.

The Earl of *Shrewsbury* espous'd this Quarrel with a distinguished Zeal, as well with respect to the Hazard, as to the Expence, as has been before mention'd.

The Lord *Mordaunt*, now Earl of *Peterborough*, is said to have undertaken that Part of the Affair which concern'd the City, and to have come privately from *Holland* to *England* on purpose, being Lodg'd at Mr. *Houblens*, in *Winchester-Street*, in *London*, where were held several Conferences with the Chief Citizens, relating to

to the Concern they were to have in it, which was not inconsiderable. I my self heard one of them, an Alderman, express in *July* great hopes of the Deliverance this Nation might expect before the next *Lord-Mayor's Day*, which he thought wou'd have been the Day of his own Cavalcade, and seem'd very cheerful on the expectation of a Happy Turn about that time; which he was the more free in, because I was not then of Years to do any Good or Mischief as he imagin'd; but therein was out in his Politicks, as much as he was right in his Prophecy.

The Earl of *Wiltshire*, now Duke of *Bolton*, was one of the first that went to the *Hague*, on the Glorious Errand of Liberty, and he was accompany'd by the Lord *Pawlet* his Brother, while their Father, the Old Marquis of *Winchester*, was forc'd, like *Brutus*, to act the part of Lunacy, which he could indeed do the better, for that with all his good Sense, he was the most extravagant Humourist in *Britain*.

The Earl of *Argyle*, the Father of the present Duke, had been Imprison'd by King *James*. on Suspicion; but for want of Proof against him, discharg'd; after his Unfortunate Father lost his Head, as his Grandfather had done before. This Noble Family having not till very lately, had one Friend in it to the *Divine Indefeasible Right*, since Popery was expell'd these Kingdoms.

The Lord *Eland*, Son to the Marquis of *Hallifax*, was a Voluntary Hostage to



the Prince of *Orange*, for his Fathers Sincerity in the Matter: As was also

The Lord *Dunblaine*, now Marquis of *Carmarthen*, whose Father the Duke of *Leeds*, had as great share in it, as in the the Marriage of Her Royal Highness the Prince of *Orange*, which so happily entitul'd her Husband the Prince, to a Right to protect us, and procure Redress for our Grievances.

Mr. *Herbert*, afterwards Lord *Herbert* of *Cherbury*, shew'd himself on this Occasion, worthy the Honours of his Ancestors, purchas'd in the Defence of the Liberties of their Country.

Admiral *Herbert*, and his Brother Col. *Herbert*, the former now Earl of *Torrington*, made an Attonement by their Retreat to the *Hague*; and their Return with the Prince, for the Mischiefs done by their Brother Judge *Herbert*, who Liv'd and Dy'd in Exile with King *James*, having profited little by the Example of their Father Sir *Edward Herbert*, who had before spent his Life in Banishment with the same Prince, when Duke of *York*.

Mr. *Russel*, the present Earl of *Orford*.

Mr. *Harbord*, afterwards a Privy Counsellor, and Ambassador to *Turkey*.

Mr. *Lister*, of a very good Church-Family.

Col. *Cutts*, Col. *Talmash*, Brother to the Earl of *Dysert*, the Famous Soldier who fell at *Cameret-Bay*. Sir *Rowland Gwyn*, who had been sometime at the *Hague*, and having

ving since been a Witness of the *Revolution*, and the Effects of it. Lives now at *Hanover*. Sir *Robert Peyton*, and many others. Gentlemen of the most Orthodox Principles in Church and State, attended his Highness in this Expedition which was carry'd on by Men of that Character, who call'd in very few others to their Assistance ; tho' we must not forget that Mr. *Andrew Fletcher* of *Saltpune*, who so warmly oppos'd the Union of *England* and *Scotland*, came with the Prince ; as did Major *Manly*, Father of a Son who has so often *Address* against that Spirit of Liberty, which then exerted it self in himself too, as well as the rest of the Nation. I might add many more Names of the Prince's Companions, Persons of Distinction and Merit, but I chuse to mention such only as have some relation to the Subject of this Treatise, which is intended to shew how far different the Principles and Practices of some Men are, what a degeneracy they are fallen into ; what a Farce they have since acted, in renouncing those Principles, and still asserting the Effect of them, *The Hanover Succession* ; and what little dependance *France* can make on Friends in *England*, since whenever Property or Religion is effected, the same Spirit will again revive, however it may sink when there's no need of it, which is our present Case. I do not pretend to give an exact History of that Revolution, but only to touch upon those Facts that have Respect to the Assertion I maintain,

That

That we owe it to those Men that now Condemn it, and to those Doctrines that now make it Rebellion and Damnation. I shall only observe *en passant*, that the only Resistance made at Sea to it, was by Admiral *Aylmer*, than Captain of the *Swallow Frigate*, who took Coll. *Columbine*, and 400 Men in a *Dutch Ship*, part of the Prince's Fleet; and how that Admiral has been since serv'd for his Revolution Principles, is no part of a *Secret History*. My Lord *Dartmouth* at the same time, lay with a Fleet of Thirty Seven Men of War, to intercept the *Dutch*; and some have done his Lordship the Honour, to suppose he was not so True as he us'd to be to King *James*, but for my part, I am not of their Opinion, and do verily believe, if that Lord had thought his Thirty Seven Men of War could have Beat the Prince of *Orange's* Fifty One, against the Wills of his own Seamen, he would have been as Faithful to King *James* before, as after the *Revolution*. The only *English* Addition of that Lord's Life, at least that I have heard of, was his refusing to Transport King *James's* Wife, and Her pretended Son to *France*, which if true, was as much Resistance as if he had Fought at the Head of a Regiment against him. The King's Power being boundless, and the Subjects Obedience *without Reserve*, as may be prov'd by a great Number of Address'es, Printed two or three Years since. It must be own'd, no Body ventur'd to Print any such thing till the *Revolution*

*olution* was forgotten. I am oblig'd to do Justice to the Clergy as well as Laity, that came over with the Prince, I mean the Church of *England* Clergy, there being several who were Personally engag'd in that Enterprize; and both in the Camp and Fleet, Prayers were always read according to the *Rubrick* of the Church of *England*, whose Service even in *Holland*, had the Preference of the *French*. For while His Highness lay at *Helvoetsluys*, for a Wind, after the Storm he had been in, it was order'd that the *English* Prayers should begin at Ten, the *French* at Eleven a Clock in the Morning, tho' there were among the Auxiliaries a much greater Number of *Calvinists* than of *Church-Men*. The Prince himself, and all the Lords of his Court, always assisting at the Prayers of our Church, which he came to *Deliver*, as was at that time said, and a Year or two afterwards, *To Destroy*. How very different was the Behaviour of some of our Divines, from that Honest One, who got upon the Poup of the *Golden Sun*, a Ship in the Prince's Fleet, when She came near the Shoar in *Torbay*, and Flourishing his Bible in his Hand, which was his Spiritual Weapon, cry'd out, *For the Prince, and the Protestant Religion*, before the People could tell whether they were Friends or Enemies. And this being the first Declaration that was made to them of that kind, by a Minister of the Church of *England*, is remarkable enough to deserve remembrance by such as would not let her lose the



the least Part of the Glory She then acquir'd, by making that *Bold Stand* in the Defence of Her own, and our Civil Liberties. The Bells Ringing all along the Shoar as the Fleet Coasted it, was a Promise of Success to the Fleet and Army. It being the Fifth of *November*, His Highness order'd the *English* and *Scots* Regiments to Land first, himself follow'd about Noon, and took his Quarters at a Fishermans House in *Torbay*, ordering a Camp to be mark'd out on the Hill for his Army, which consisted of Twenty Six Regiments, having

1000 *Inferior Officers*,  
78 *Field Officers*,  
15400 *Soldiers, Horse and Foot.*

Above 2000 more than the List publish'd by King *James's* Order made them. The Prince stay'd a Night or two at the Fishermans, his Courtiers taking up with the Hutts about it. Among the Foreigners, were the Mareschal *De Schomberg*, the Dukes of *Schomberg* and *Leinster*, his two Sons then Young, by the Names of Count *Charles* and Count *Maynard*; the late Earls of *Portland* and *Rochfort*, the Earl of *Graham*, the Earl of *Albemarle*, the Three last Velt-Mareschals of *Holland*, Count *Nassau*, the Earl of *Athlone*, the Lord *Auverquerque*, nor must we forget the Famous Generals *Fagel* and *Hompesch*, whose Bravery in the late *French War*, have made their Names Immortal.

I can-

I cannot think these Particulars will be disagreeable to the *Reader*, because the Actions of these Great Men since, do an Honour to that Cause in which they so generously engag'd. When his Highness first Landed, People were afraid to shew their Joy and good Wishes, *Monmouth's* Fate in the *West*, having frightened them from any *Second Struggle for Liberty*. They were Ignorant of the Engagements of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Chief Gentlemen of *England* to assist him; and *Monmouth* met with more Encouragement than the Prince did, Lifting more in one Day, than His Highness did in Ten. The Men of *Devonshire* telling the Prince's Officers, *They were enough of themselves to do the Business, and wanted no more.* The Prince brought Arms sufficient for as many more as he had with him, but having a Regular Army, and not standing in so much need of Assistance as the Duke of *Monmouth*, he was not hasty in giving out Commissions to raise Regiments, which he should be oblig'd in Honour, to see Provision made for. The first he gave, were to the Lord Visc. *Mordaunt*, Sir *John Guise*, and Sir *Robt. Peyton*, who being Curious in their Men, did not fill their Regiments in that time *Monmouth* compleated his whole Army. The first Place the Prince of *Orange's* Declaration was publicly read at, was *Newton-Abbot* Market-Town, near *Exeter*. And the first Man who read it was a Minister, on the same Day that the Prince march'd thither,

thither, and took up his Quarters at Sir *William Courtneys*, where he was Nobly Entertain'd, and staid two Nights. From thence he went to *Chudleigh*, and thence on the Eighth of *November*, to *Exeter*; where he made a very Splendid Entry, which was mightily magnify'd at *London*; and a Paper of it came out with an Account of the Form and Manner of it, adding such a Terrible Description of his *Finland* and *Swiss* Guards, as made a strong Impression on the Vulgar, who lookt on King *James's* List of his Forces, tho' not much short of the Truth, as a Fable to lessen his Strength. The Bishop of *Exeter* as soon as he heard of the Prince's Landing, Posted to Court, to shew King *James* how worthy his Loyalty was of the Chair of *York*, which was given him; tho' he afterwards went as far as the rest, in Resisting that King, by Addresses to the Prince of *Orange*, and Declarations for him; as also in Swearing to him after he was King. The Dean in a Fright left *Exeter* too, but return'd before the Prince was gone from his House, which he took for his Lodgings. It must be own'd, the Terrors that were on the Minds of the Clergy of this Cathedral, shew'd themselves on the Arrival of the Prince, who having caus'd *Te Deum* to be Sung on that Occasion, after the Collects were ended, the Reverend Dr. *Burnet* read his *Declaration*, at the beginning of which, those Clergy-Men crowded out of their Seats and the Church, the People remain-

remaining ; and when at the end of the Declaration, the Doctor cry'd, *God save the Prince of Orange*, they shouted for Joy. It was however at a Cathedral that this Slur was put upon His Highness, the other Clergy almost every where, shewing their Assent to his Undertaking, by their Chearful Reception of his Followers, and opening the Church-Doors to Ring the Bells in the Places through which he pass'd. The Clergy of *Exeter* were order'd by Dr. *Burnet*, in the Prince's Name, not to Pray for the Pretended Prince of *Wales* : But these Divines, who had not the Gifts of the Prophecy or Foresight, and thought the rest of the Nation as Timorous as themselves, were very unwilling to comply with this Order ; and one of them persisted in reading that Prayer, at which Two of the Lords, who came over with the Prince, stood up, and put on their Hats in Abhorrence of it, kneeling down at all the other Collects. The Prince was three Days at *Exeter*, before he was joyn'd by any of the Nobility or Gentry who had Invited him over, or were in his Interest. The Mayor and Aldermen of the City were very cold, and only one *Futhil*, and another of the Aldermen declar'd for him. All this Shinefs arose from the Bloody Executions they had been Witnesses of in King *James's* Reign. At last Sir *Edward Seymour*, Sir *William Portman*, Sir *Francis War*, Col. *Palmer*, and the rest of the West Country Gentlemen came in, all Persons of the  
most



most *Staunch Character*. As soon as *Sir Edward Seymour* came to *Exeter*, he sent for *Dr. Burnet*, and askt him, *Why they were a Rope of Sand, why they had not an Association?* Then it was drawn up, and laid on a Table in the *Prince's Lodgings*, where the *Lords and Gentlemen* of his Court Sign'd it, it was as follows.

WE whose Names are hereunto Subscrib'd, who have now joyn'd with the Prince of Orange, for the Defence of the Protestant Religion, and for the maintaining the Ancient Government, and the Laws and Liberties of England, Scotland and Ireland, do engage to Almighty God, to his Highness the Prince of Orange, and to one another, to stick firm to this Cause, in the Defence of it, and never to depart from it, until our Religion, Laws and Liberties are so far secured to us in a Free Parliament, that we shall be no more in Danger of falling under Popery and Slavery. And whereas we are engag'd in this Common Cause, under the Protection of the Prince of Orange, by which Case his Person might be expos'd to Danger, and to the Cursed Attempts of Papists, and other Bloody Men, We do therefore Solemnly engage to God, and one another, That if any such Attempt be made upon him, we will pursue not only those that make it, but all their Adherence, and all that we find in Arms against us, with the utmost Severity of a Just Revenge to their Ruin and Destruction. And that the Execution of any such Attempt (which God of his infinite Mercy forbid) shall not divert us from prosecuting this Cause, which we do now under-

undertake, but that it shall engage us to carry it on with all the Vigour that so Barbarous an Action shall deserve.

This proves what rare Observers of the Doctrine of *Passive-Obedience*, those Men are who have of late cry'd it up so much, and made this Nation once more a Jest to all the World for professing a Thing so much against their Practice.

While the Prince was in this City there came to him from *Oxford* a Head of a College, who invited him thither in the Name of that University, and his Highness design'd to go to that City, had not King *James's* flight from *London*, call'd him thither, when he was got as near *Oxford* as *Abington*. However the above-mention'd Association was carry'd to the University and sign'd by the Heads of the Houses and others, with Expressions of the greatest Zeal in this *Resisting* Cause, that their Hearts went with their Hands.

To *Exeter* came the Lord *Colchester*, now Earl *Rivers*, Lieutenant to the Lord *Dover's* Troop of Guards; and with him the present Earl of *Wharton*, Collonel *Godfrey* and *John How* Esq; These Lords and Gentlemen were follow'd by the Earl of *Abington*, Captain *Clarges* and others. The present Earl of *Clarendon* was the first Officer of Note that deserted King *James's* Army, with his own Regiment he attempted to carry off the Royal Regiment of Horse, and the Duke of *St. Alban's*

*ban's* Regiment of Dragoons, Commanded by Lieutenant-Collonel *Langston*, who went with him; but several Officers and Troopers of the Regiment of Horse would not go to *Exeter*, which piece of Loyalty was highly exaggerated in the State Papers.

The Lord *Lovelace* was the first who appear'd at the Head of a Party of Horse for the Prince, which he did in five or six Days after his Highness landed, but the Militia seiz'd him at *Cirencester*, after a vigorous Defence, in which a Major, Captain and Lieutenant were kill'd. This, I think, is a sort of Resistance, that shews what King *James* must have expected, had he left the Dispute to Arms, as well as that at *Wincaunton*, where forty Men were kill'd on both sides; yet because his Majesty was so careful of himself, that he chose rather to fly than fight, some of our modern Arguers prove from this very Revolution, that there was no Resistance ever preach'd up by the Church's true Sons.

About ten Days after the Prince landed, the late Earl of *Warrington* assembled fifty Horse and march'd to *Manchester*, then to *Boden Downs*, where he encreas'd to 150, and so kept encreasing till he was too strong for all Opposers in those Parts, though the Lords *Aston* and *Molineux*, two Papists were very Zealous for King *James's* Interest, and endeavour'd to defend *Cheshire*. At *Nottingham*, the Earl of *Devonshire*, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Earl of *Darby*,

Danby, Sir Scroop How, now Lord How, Sir William Russel, and the Northern Association was form'd, which was honour'd with the Presence of the Bishop of London, and even of her Present Majesty Queen Anne. In that Association they say, among other things, "We being made sadly sensible of the Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, that is, by the Influence of Jesuitical Councils coming upon us, do unanimously declare, That not being willing to deliver our Posterity over to such a Condition of Popery and Slavery, as the aforesaid Illegalities do inevitably threaten, We will, to the utmost of our Power, oppose the same, by joining with the Prince of Orange, &c. And herein we hope all good Protestants will, with their Lives and Fortunes, be assistant to us, and not be Bug-bear'd with the opprobrious Terms of Rebels, by which they would fright us to become perfect Slaves to their Tyrannical Insolencies and Usurpations, for we assure our selves, that no Rational and Unbiass'd Person will judge it Rebellion to defend our Laws and Religion, which all our Princes have sworn at their Coronation; which Oath how well it hath been observ'd of late, we desire a Free Parliament may have the Consideration of. We own it Rebellion to resist a King that Governs by Law, but he was always accounted a Tyrant that made his Will his Law,



“ and to resist such a one, we justly esteem no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence, &c.

These were the Sentiments of those Churchmen and Patriots. These were the Sentiments of the Duke of *Leeds*, the Bishop of *London*, and a great number of Lords and Gentlemen, who had their Swords by their sides to defend them, and make good what they asserted of the Lawfulness of defence against Tyranny. What is the meaning then that now Four and twenty Years after, the Error should be perceiv'd and *Passive Obedience* and *Non Resistance* be declar'd to be the Doctrine of the Church. Why should one ask, what is the meaning? The effect it has produced fully answers the Question, and renders all Reasoning on this subject equally absurd and ridiculous. It is not hop'd to make a Convert by this History, for none can believe that these Gentlemen who address so warmly against Revolutionary Principles, after they acted so warmly in that Revolution, will not say and do anything, be it ever so contradictory, if they have any Point to carry by it, or that in truth they mean a Word they say.

Before the Prince of *Orange* left *Exeter* he made a Speech to the Noblemen and Gentlemen, who had accompany'd and joyn'd him, to this effect: That though he knew not all their Persons, yet he had a Catalogue of their Names, and remembred the Character of their Worth and Interest in the Country: That they saw he was come accom-

ing to their Invitation and his Promise : That his Duty to God oblig'd him to protect the Protestant Religion, and his Love to Mankind, their Liberties and Properties : That he expell'd they that dwell so near the Place of his Landing, would have joyn'd him sooner, nor that it was then too late, nor that he wanted their Military Assistance so much as their Countenance and Presence. &c. He clos'd it thus, Therefore, Gentlemen, Friends and Followers, we bid you and all your Followers most heartily welcome to our Court and Camp. Let the whole World now judge if our Pretensions are not Just, Generous, Sincere and above Price, since we might have even a Bridge of Gold to return back; but it is our Principle and our Resolution rather to die in a good Cause, than live in a bad one, well knowing, that Vertue and true Honour is its own Reward, and the Happiness of Mankind our great and only Design.

All this while the whole Conduct of this Enterprize was in Church Hands; the Dissenters acting only under Parts. The Lords in the other Counties of England were carrying it on vigorously, and the Duke of Norfolk at the Head of a great Body of Gentry, appear'd and declar'd at Norwich for a Free Parliament, and the Protection of the Protestant Religion.

The Prince of Denmark, the Duke of Ormond and Sir George Hewet left the King, and went to the Prince at Sherburn; as did the Duke of Grafton, the Lord Churchill, Collonel Berkley, and many other Persons

of Quality, insomuch, that he had a fuller Court than the King his Father-in-law ever had in the Height of his Prosperity.

In a Word, there was hardly a Peer or Person of Distinction in *England*, but either by inviting the Prince of *Orange* over, or by joyning him after he came, or by declaring for him in other Places, or by desiring him to accept of the Administration of the Government, had render'd themselves as much Guilty of Resistance, as if they had fought against King *James* Personally present in his Army.

One would have thought that such a Tryal as this Nation had had of King *James's* Arbitrary Government, should have made them for ever averse to a Popish King, and to him especially ; yet after the Church had done all this for her and our Deliverance, such was the Hatred of some of her Sons to the Dissenters; such the Greediness of others for Employments and Power ; such the Prejudice of many who had been bred up in Notions of the Divine Right of Kings, and the Unalienable, Indefeisible Possession of the Crown ; such the Envy of those who had had but a small share of the Glory of this Undertaking, to those that accomplish'd it ; such the Natural Inconstancy of our Temper, more various than our Climate, that as soon as this Business was done, and King *James* in *France*, out of spite to our Deliverer, who could not  
pro-

provide for every Body, a Party immediately deserted that good Cause, and being ashamed to call themselves *Papists*, though they acted for the Popish Interest, in opposing the Protestant, assumed the Name of *Church*, pretending the Licence of Revolution Principles, and the Moderation of those that profess them to all *English* Protestants, would ruin both that and the State; and when Dr. *Sancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the rest of the Bishops, as has been related in the foregoing Pages, had been so active in bringing the Prince of *Orange* to *London*, they would have sent him home again, rather than see some Men who had preserved their Integrity in the worst of Times, and were now about to receive their Reward, share those Employments and Honours which they would have engross'd, and thought none could enjoy, but in wrong to them. Therefore as early as the Convention Parliament and the Debate about the *Abdication*, there was a Faction form'd to oppose the advancing the Prince to the Throne he had so well deserv'd by our Deliverance, and to puzzle his Affairs afterwards, when they could not hinder his Advancement. Notwithstanding which Opposition, there were many of the most Zealous Sons of the Church, who were heartily for the *Abdication*, and continu'd Loyal to King *William*, till Occasion of Disgust was taken, which may easily be, where the Pub-



lick Interest has so little weight against private Profit, as it has with us.

Mr. *Dolben* began the Debate about the Vacancy of the Throne, and it pass'd in the House of Commons, by a great Majority, in the Affirmative. In the Lords it met with more Opposition, and it was observ'd, that Monsieur *Barillon*, the French Ambassâdor, was very busy with them, after King *James* was gone, for which he was order'd to leave the Kingdom in Twenty four Hours, being conducted to *Calais* by Mr. *l'Etang*, the same who afterwards arrested Monsieur *Boufflers* at the Head of the Garison of *Namur*, when it was taken by his late Majesty. King *James* wrote a Letter to the House of Peers, to represent the Injustice of depriving him of the Throne of his Ancestors. It was sent them by the Lord *Preston*, who was order'd to attend a Committee of that House, but the Lords not being willing to hinder the Settlement of the Kingdom about so trivial a Matter, never examin'd him. The Earl of *Danby* was in the Chair when the Debate arose about the Vacancy of the Throne in the Lord's House. The Earl of *Nottingham* spoke much for a Regency to which the House inclin'd, and it is thought it would have pass'd, had it not been for the Marquis of *Hallifax* and the Earl of *Danby*. The House dividing upon the Question, whether it should be a King or a Regent, carry'd it for the former by three Voices only

only; being fifty one to forty nine, among the latter were,

|                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| Duke of Ormond,       | Earl of Tarmouth,    |
| Duke of Southampton,  | Earl of Lindsey,     |
| Duke of Grafton,      | Viscount Weymouth,   |
| Duke of Beaufort,     | Lord Coventry,       |
| D. of Northumberland  | Lord Brook,          |
| Earl of Kent,         | Lord Leigh,          |
| Earl of Pembroke,     | Lord Ferrers,        |
| Earl of Clarendon,    | Lord Maynard,        |
| Earl of Rochester,    | Lord Jermyn,         |
| Earl of Craven,       | Lord Arundel of Tre- |
| Earl of Westmorland,  | vise,                |
| Earl of Scarsdale,    | Lord Dartmouth,      |
| Earl of Chesterfield, | Lord Griffin, &c.    |
| Earl of Litchfield,   |                      |

The Archbishop of York, the Bishops of Winchester, Norwich, Ely, St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Oxford, Gloucester and Lincoln. The Earls of Huntington and Mulgrave did not appear; the Lord Churchill was hindered by Sickness; the Archbishop of Canterbury would not come to the House, and of all the Bishops, only the present Bishops of Winchester, and the Bishop of London were for a King. There was something odd in the stating of this Debate; for the first Motion was not to agree to the Common Vote of the Vacancy of the Throne, and yet to suppose it for the present, and come to the Question, *Whether the Throne being vacant, it ought to be fill'd up by a Regent. or a King.* The next Thing debated by the Lords was the *Original*

original Contract, which a certain Faction have attempted to ridicule ever since *Sacheverel's* Impeachment. To endeavour to prove the being of it, would take up too much room in a History, which is to relate the Fact, and not repeat the Arguments. The House having debated this Question divided upon it, and it was carry'd in the Affirmative that there was an Original Contract, and that King *James* had broken it, by seven Voices, fifty three against forty six. Then came on the main Question concerning the *Vacancy of the Throne*, which was debated with more Heat than all the rest, and carry'd in the Negative by eleven Voices. The Marquisses of *Hallifax* and *Winchester*, the Earls of *Danby* and *Devonshire*, and thirty six more protested against this Vote. Then a Motion was made, *That if there was no Vacancy, the Crown devolv'd to the next Heirs, and therefore that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declar'd King and Queen*, which was carry'd in the Negative by five Voices; but a Conference being desir'd with the Commons about the Abdication, and several Lords, as the Dukes of *Ormond*, *Southampton*, *Grafton* and *Northumberland* being convinc'd by that and other good Reasons, the Earl of *Danby* made an excellent Speech for the *Vacancy of the Throne by the Abdication of King James*, and the necessity of supplying it with the Prince and Princess of Orange; in which he was strenuously seconded by the Marquis of *Hallifax*, who  
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immediately put the Question, *Whether their Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declar'd King and Queen;* which was carry'd in the Affirmative by a Majority of twenty Voices. Thus was the Throne happily fill'd with King *William* and Queen *Mary*, whose Disinterest in this whole Proceeding has been observ'd before : And there is one thing farther observable, that his late Majesty express'd always an Abhorrence for any Measures that fail'd in respect to King *James's* Person. When he first came into *England* he understood in his March, that some bold People began to talk of proceeding Personally against King *James*. He presently desired the Man who acquainted him with it, to find out who they were that held such Impious Discourse, for he would suffer none of them to stay about him ; and it appear'd very evidently at *Windsor* how firm he was to this Resolution ; for when he was in his Hands, and many advis'd him to keep him safe, at least till *Ireland* was reduc'd, if not to the end of the War, some proposing his own Town of *Breda* as a fit Place ; he said, *Those Advices may be perhaps both Safe and Wise, but he could not follow them ; for whatever he might do in the way of the War, he could not bring himself to any thing Personally against him ;* and he not only gave the Guards that waited on him publick Orders, but secret Directions to leave him at full liberty. There are some half Politicians, if they deserve the Name, who object to  
this



this, that if King *James* had stay'd, the Throne having not been vacant by his *Desertion*, King *William* could not have fill'd it, and therefore he Politickly facilitated his escape. It is no doubt he might have prevented it; for he could not but know as well as others, what every one said of King *James's* intended departure, a Fortnight or three Weeks before he went, which the Courtiers did not stick at telling, and it was the Advice of all the hot *Catholicks* in *England*; and as to Vacancy of the Throne, the Breach of the Original Contract is as much an Abdication, as the flying to *France*. The Power of the Prince's Friends was such, that had he chosen the Advices that were given him, with respect to securing the King's Person, and countenanc'd the Ferment the Nation was threatned with on the miscarriage of the Convention, in what concern'd his Interest, had he encourag'd those Address'es he severely frown'd upon, as he did on every thing that seem'd tumultuary, it is not question'd but the Abdication of the Throne might have taken another Turn, and it had not been safe for the Enemies of Liberty to have oppos'd it.

They grew wanton afterwards, when they had had time to breathe, and to perceive that the Nation seeing their main Concerns settled, began to be so indifferent about other Matters which had too distant a relation to it that under several Pretexts, they might carry on

on their Designs which it was the more easy for them do, while his Majesty King *William* had a Competitor living, and a Foreign War to support against the most Powerful Monarch in the World. How that Malecontent Faction usurping sometimes the Name of the Church, and sometimes that of the Country Party, serv'd him, is Notorious to all that have Years and Memory, and were near the Scene where their Parts were acted.

The Treaty between King *James* and the Prince of *Orange*, when his Highness was at *Littlecot*, was one of their Councils; for he was then surrounded by those Men call'd *Tories* in the two former Reigns: They got the King to issue out Writs for a Parliament, hoping, says an Author of Authority, to have sham'd the Kingdom with such specious Concessions for keeping out Popery, and redressing Grievances, that might have sent the Prince home again with a good Sum of Money and fair Promises; but the Cowardice of the late King after Commissions for a Treaty sign'd made that Attempt fruitless, and brought him to be at the Prince's Dispose.

They perswaded the Prince of *Orange* to have presently caus'd his Army to proclaim him King, and to have assum'd to himself the Royal Office, presuming to have kindled Hatred and Revenge in the Hearts of more than those whose Love he had gain'd by his Declarations for restoring our Religion, Laws and Liberties; but the Vanity and pernicious Consequence

quence of these Councils were so discover'd, and he resolv'd to leave all things to the Representative Body of the Nation.

His own excellent Judgment, which was superiour to all theirs, shewing him that it was too rash for him to venture his Reputation and Fortune on the desperate Advice of such Counsellors, Men of small Experience and Capacity. He had been bred in too wise a School to need any Lessons from such Politicians, tho afterwards when he was King, the necessity of his Affairs oblig'd him to make use of them, and several of them who had been Instruments of King *Charles* and King *James's* Arbitrary Power, then apply'd themselves to the new King, with servile Flatteries, and mean Submissions to gain his Ears and Favour, in hopes to promote the return of their old Master. They therefore craftily perswaded him from all Courses that tended to the utter Exclusion of King *James*; they insinuated Visionary Dangers of the dispersing King *James's* Army, and advis'd, that those who had dispers'd themselves should be gather'd into Troops and Companies. To bring him into Debt, they got him to promise to pay their Arrears, though they had been rais'd by King *James* for the Destruction of our Religion and Government. They did their utmost by false Insinuations to prevent the King's Acceptance of the repeated Offers from several Counties, Cities and Gentle-

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men, to raise him Regiments of Horse and Foot at their own Charge, upon whose Fidelity he might have depended, particularly Mr. *Oliver Cromwel* of *Hampshire*, and Major *Braman* of *Chichester*. The Reasons against the latter being, that he had serv'd the Parliament, and against the former, that he might set up for himself. It was these Men that hinder'd King *William's* hearkening to *Tyrconnel's* frank Offers to resign the Kingdom of Ireland. When they could not hinder the Settlement of the Crown on King *William* and Queen *Mary*, they affected to be the most eager for proclaiming them, and to heap all Powers upon them confusedly, without mention or regard to the Kingdom's Rights. They bragg'd then, as they do now, that they were the only Men for Monarchy, and always defended the Prerogatives of the Crown. These were the Men, who being loaded with the Guilt of the two former Reigns, pretended they durst not displease the House of Commons in arguing for the Crown, as they would while such severe Rods were over them; therefore they prest the King to hasten on Acts of Indemnity: And the House thinking it convenient to except all Treasons, Murders in forms of Law, Suspensions of the Laws, Establishments of Popish Courts, surrendring and betraying Charters, and the like Publick Crimes. These Men of Loyalty flatter'd the new King, that they had rather depend on his own Pardon, than an Act so clog'd with Exceptions.



tions. They advis'd him to influence such Members of Parliament as he could, to obstruct the passing the Bill depending for Corporations, by which it was intended to exclude from the Magistracy for some Years, all the principal Betrayers and Surrenderers of Charters that consequently all the Magistrates might have been chosen out of those honest *Englishmen* who had hazarded themselves in opposing King *James's* illegal Practices. By this means most of King *James's* Adherents were suffer'd to continue in the Offices and Trusts of all the Corporations to be ready to chuse Members of Parliament like themselves, and here is the rise of all the Misfortunes which have since attended this unhappy Nation.

These Men, whose Faction King *William* and his true Friends might easily have crush'd for ever at the Revolution, having kept Footing in this manner, gain'd Ground daily by their Pretences of Zeal for the Church and Monarchy. The Clergy fell in with them out of Hatred to the Dissenters; the Pulpit and the Press were on their side, and it was so early, as those Times more dangerous to write freely for the Constitution than to write against it. So bold was their Party, that a Petition was presented to the House of Commons from the Common Council of *London*, against Admission of Sir *Thomas Pilkington* to be Lord Mayor, Sir *Leonard Robinson* to be Chamberlain, &c. under  
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Several False Allegations. A Petition contriv'd to obstruct the great Business of Parliament, and carry'd on, says an Author, that answer'd it about the Year 1690. *By the very Men that surrender'd their Ancient Rights and Privileges, several of them Famous in the Tryals of the Lord Russell, Mr. Rouse, Sir Samuel Barnardiston, Mr. Papillon, Mr. Bateman and others, whose Lives and Estates were Sacrific'd to the Resentment of a Cruel Court.* A Petition continues he, *promoted by many that wear the Habit indeed of the Church of England, but who make it their chiefest Business to promote the Interest of the Church of Rome; who by Virtue of their Profession, gaining an Ascendant over the Consciences of many People make an ill use of the Confidence they have in them.* In a Word, *whoever they were that advis'd, or fram'd, or Subscrib'd this Petition, it appears by the ill Luck it has had, to have been a Mutinous Jacobite Contrivance, to disturb the Proceedings of the House of Commons.* Who were then prest to hasten the Supplies they had Voted, I have seen a List of the Names of the Subscribers of this Petition, too long to be incerted here, and most of them too Obscure; but amongst the rest, I remember there were those of

William Withers,  
Thomas Blackmore,  
Peter Floyer,  
Robert Bedingsfield,  
William Lewen,  
Samuel Clarke,  
Richard Hoar,

Samuel Gerrard,  
Samuel Ongley,  
George Newland,  
Richard Beauchamp,  
John Genew,  
Laurence Cole,  
Robert Brough, &c.

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By these Artifices, the Corporations continu'd for the most part, in the Hands of those that had had them in King *Charles* and King *James's* Reigns. Elections were accordingly of this mixture, for Burgeses in Parliament. The Government of the Counties were dispos'd of mostly by their Recommendation, especially the *London* Lieutenancy, which was Committed to those who most comply'd with King *James*, to destroy their Liberties. Collonels and Officers put in upon the Revolution, were turn'd out a Year or two after. At which Proceedings, the E. of S. — at that time one of the Principal Secretaries of State, who came over with the King, was so dissatisfy'd, that he desir'd Leave to lay down his Office, and not serve in such Company. It was these Men who postpon'd the Relief of *Ireland*, by perswading his Majesty to try the ways of Treaty first, and the Man recommended to him, was Col. *Richard Hamilton*, who was sent to *Dublin*, to take the Government out of *Tyrconnels* Hand; so sure had they represented his intended Submission: Instead of which, *Hamilton* declar'd immediately for King *James*, and was one of the most Inveterate Enemies of the Protestants, in the War that follow'd it. Mr. *Temple*, Son of Sir *William Temple*, who had been impos'd on by the Faction, to speak well of *Hamilton* to the King, when he found how he was betray'd, and his Majesty by his means, tho' Guiltless of any Criminal Design, Sacrific'd his own Life as an Attonement for his Fault

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or an Ease to his Mind, and leaping into the *Thames*, near *London-Bridge*, was there drown'd. These were the Men that kept up the long Debates in the *House of Commons*, about Declaring the *Irish War*, the Sums to be given for that Use, the Time for which they were to be continu'd, and the Arts us'd to delay the Dispatch of them. These oppos'd the *Mareschal De Schomberg's* Advice, not to stay for a Fleet to Transport an Army to *Ireland*, but to march immediately to *Port Patrick* in *Scotland*, from whence they might pass over to *Ireland* in a few Hours, which had not only prevented *Dundee's* Rebellion in *Scotland*, but reliev'd *Londonderry*, and hinder'd King *James's* forming so great an Army as he did, to prolong the War. And the main Reason why the Faction was for delaying Things thus, was out of Affection to King *Lewis*, as well as King *James*: For the *French King* depended so entirely on the Friendship of King *Charles* and King *James*, that he was not at all prepar'd for a War with *England*. His Fleet was not in a readiness, nor the Fortifications of *Brest*, *St. Maloes*, *Cherburgh*, and *Havre de Grace*, in a Condition to withstand the Attack of our *English Fleet* and Army; therefore his Friends here, by their Treacherous Councils, hinder'd the King's making such use of a Fleet of near 100 Men of War, as he might have done, on his coming to the Crown. The Lord *Dartmouth* having deliver'd up above 40 Ships, and he brought above 50 with him.



But it was always said, we must not be hasty in Declaring War with *France*. It was plain a War was inevitable, and when at last the Convention Parliament saw into these Matters, and trac'd the Mischiefs to the Source, they Addressed against such as had oppos'd the Settlement of the King, and formerly betray'd *England* to *France*; at which the Faction exclaim'd, as an Infringement of Regal Power, that this Assembly were Men of Republican and Antimonarchical Principles, and so far they prevail'd, that they were Dissolv'd; which delay'd the Relief of *Ireland* for Two Months; lost the Money Bills for that Expedition, kept Duke *Schomberg's* Army in a Starving Condition and stop'd the fitting out the Fleet, which expos'd our Coasts to the Disgrace of being Insulted by the *French*. After the Convention Parliament was Dissolv'd it was this Faction who endeavour'd to persuade the Members of the next, *That all the Convention did, ought to be null and void* and when a Member of that House, propos'd the Confirming their Acts, one of *King William's* Tory Councillors reply'd *What was void from the beginning, could never be Confirm'd* Nay, I have read that many of the then Courtiers, to prevent an Act of Recognition, privately solicited the Members of the House of Commons against it, saying *leave it as you found it* which they did, to keep up a False Notion of *King James's* Right, founded on the Principles of *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*

*Resistance*, not out of any Nicety of Conscience, but to confound Matters, and bring us into a Confusion, out of which we might not be easily able to get, but by undoing all that had been done, wherein they were to find their Accounts, both with respect to their Passion and Interests. For these were the Motives that kept up this *Faction*, and the Pretence of Church and Monarchy, was only made use of as a Blind to deceive those who were so weak as to imagine King *William* was a Republican and Presbyterian. These were the Men, who when a Bill was offer'd to this Parliament, to acknowledge, That their Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary* were, are, and of Right ought to be, by the Laws of this Realm, our Sovereign Liege Lord and Lady, &c. And to Enact, That all the Acts of the Convention Parliament were, and are Laws and Statutes of this Kingdom. Insinuated at Court, that such a Bill was of Dangerous Consequence, and treacherously advis'd his Majesty to use his Interest among the Members of both Houses, to lay it aside. Another Instance of their Faithless Councils, was their putting King *William* on ordering a General Act of Indemnity, without regard to Exemplary Justice, for the Treasons and Murders committed by them and their Abettors, in the Two Preceding Reigns. When they had got this done, they Laught at the Deceit, and the Consequence was, that of the Crowd of Criminals which those Two

P 3                      Reigns,

Reigns produc'd, not one, not even the Infamous *Jefferies*, had a Process issu'd against him, which gave Occasion to many to believe, there was not Matter sufficient for it, whereas the contrary is too Notorious to need Proof. These were the Men that advis'd his Majesty not to Arm the *Irish Protestants*, and take his Regular Troops to *Flanders* with him in the first Campaign he made there after he was King. It was they who put him upon going in Person to *Ireland* and the *Netherlands*, in hopes he would never return, but his Courage and Conduct surmounted all Hazards, and his Thirst of Glory prevented his discovering the Treachery of those that advis'd it. Many of the House of Commons saw the Danger of the Government, from employing Persons in it, that could not without an Act of Grace have been employ'd; and a Bill was offer'd to the House, to oblige all in Office, to subscribe a Declaration agreeable to the Act before-mention'd, That their Majesties were Lawfully and Rightfully King and Queen; but it was evaded by divers Artifices. The Mysterious Construction of the Oath of Allegiance only, whisper'd before, began now in the Year 1691, to be made Publick, by which the Faction would have taken off all the binding Powers of that Oath to the King and Queen. Some of the Clergy, when they took it at the Quarter Sessions, demanded boldly to enter their perverted Sense upon Record: They invented the

Notional Distinction of a King *De Facto*, and *De Jure*, allowing no more to King William, than to have unjustly got the Possession of the Crown, and taking away King James's Right. They talk'd, that the taking Oaths, was no acknowledgement of the King and Queen's Title, nor inconsistent with their Oaths to King James. That the Power their Majesties had gain'd, made those Oaths Lawful, while King James was unable to protect them; and they did nothing against his Right. They cry'd up the Statute of II. Hen. 7. that it should not be Treason to follow a King in Possession, and therefore advis'd King James's Officers and Friends, to take Employments under King William, till they should have a time to appear for their *True King*. They decry'd the *Original Contract*, and industriously obstructed a Declaration of the Particulars of all the Illegal Acts of King James, by which, says my Author, *It might have been manifest to all the World, that he Renounc'd and Abdicated his Office of an English Legal King*. They privately made Odious Comparisons between King James's Reign and King William's, charging his Majesty with those Errors in the Administration they had themselves been the Occasion of; and to shew the True Spirit of the Party, which ever was, and ever will be the same, against the Protestant Interest and Liberty, *They dexterously avoided to use the same Writers Words, The Matter of the Suppos'd Prince of Wales, and would not suffer*



fer it to be brought into Parliament, that the Imposture might have been prov'd, and declar'd to all the World. The just Ground of Suspicion of that Imposture, have been mention'd in the foregoing Pages, taken from the Passages relating to it, in the *Memorial of the Church of England*, which was presented to the Prince and Princess of Orange before the Revolution. When there were Living Witnesses to prove those strong Circumstances, the Force of such Testimony, must have put the Suspicion out of doubt, and been sufficient Proof for the Legislative to declare the Imposture. I have read in some Foreign Papers, Printed in *August*, 1688. that Her Royal Highness the Princess of Denmark was ill us'd at Court, for being a little too Curious, and offering to feel the Queen's Breasts after the Pretended Delivery. *La Princesse*, says the French Author, *a reçu quelque chagrin pour s'être montrée un peu trop curieuse l'on dit qu'ayant voulu tater le Sein de la Reine peu de jours après ses couches, l'on tourne en mal ce qu'elle avoit fait comme si elle eut douté de son Accouchement.* By which at least it appears, the Imposture was as much suspected Abroad as at Home; and the Faction were in the Right, for their Interest in the Impostors, to hinder an Inquiry into that Business, when the Vigour of People's Evidence from the Recency of the Fact, must have produc'd Conviction. Their crying up the Cheat lately, is no more a Sign of their Conversion to me, than their crying

crying up the Reality of his Royal Birth then was a Proof of their Sincerity. I value not what Men say, when their Actions bely their Words. If it be inquir'd how these Men came to be admitted into K. William's Court and Favour, I, who by my Age and Station in the World, could know little of such Affairs, must have recourse to others; and I find this Account given of it, in a Pamphlet written about the time of the design'd French Invasion, from *La Hogue*.

" The — after all his mischievous management of Affairs in King Charles's Reign, having by an ill Fate to this poor Nation, got into some small Pretence of Merit by the little Assistance he gave at the *Revolution*, sets up again for the Ministry; but being apprehensive that those *True English Men*, who had so bravely expos'd their Lives and Fortunes, for the Redemption of their Country, and were so well acquainted with his Methods in the Late Reigns, would be Jealous of his having too great Credit with the King, he thought it his best play to begin with them; and from his first coming to Court, labour'd to insinuate Jealousies of those Gentlemen, as *Common-Wealths-Men*, *Haters of Monarchy*, *Enviers of the King's Power*, and always endeavouring to make him a *Doge of Venice*. It was he who brought in the E. of — to be Secretary of State, and many others of that Party, with whose Assistance, they for a while carry'd every thing before them. These were the Men, who when the Report was

was of a Descent from *France*, absconded, as the Deputy Lieutenants of *Surry* would have done, when they refus'd to raise the Militia on that Occasion. These were the Men that kept the Assessing of Taxes low, under Notion of serving the Country, but in Truth to create Deficiencies and Difficulties. It was these Men who shew'd their Good Will to King *William*, by rejoycing at the Successes of *France*, which was done more than once publicly at *Bath* and *Windsor*. These betray'd his Councils to the *French*; these obstructed the Vigorous Prosecution of the Conspirators in several Years of that Reign. In a word, these were the Men, or some of their Emissaries, who were thought too often to be concern'd in those Conspiracies, of which will more be said in due time. 'Tis sufficient to take Notice here, of what a Contemporary Writer observ'd of the First Plot in 1690. when the King was to be Assassinated, and the Kingdom Invaded by the *French*, had not the Battel of the *Boyne* disappointed all their Hellish Designs. *I see*, says this Writer, by the *Gazettes* and *Proclamations*, that the *Queen* and Her Council know not how far this Conspiracy doth extend. Several Lords are in Hold under the Charge of Treason, several Officers of Her Majesty's Guard, and other Troops, are secur'd; several Great Men are fled, and great Numbers are suspected to have waited for the Landing of the *French*, to have shew'd themselves in Arms against their Majesties. In short, there is too much Reason

*son to fear a General Revolt of most in Authority, &c.*

The Murmurs and Discontents in *England*, after a *Revolution* so happily brought about in so short a time, made all *Europe* look on us as the most Ungrateful and Stupid of People, to treat our *Deliverance*, and our *Deliverer* in such a manner. The Protestants abroad could hardly believe there cou'd be found in *England*, one single Protestant dissatisfy'd at what had happen'd, and in Love with Ruin. To give a Hint of the Sentiments of Neighbouring Nations, with Relation to the Dissatisfaction of a Party here, I shall incert the Heads of a Letter, written by a Minister of State at *Berlin* in 1679. to a Person of Honour in *England*.

**T**O understand by your last, that there are some among you not fully satisfy'd with your late Revolution, is a thing as unexpected to me, as unpleasant. For these Nine or Ten Years past, all *Europe* was deafned with the Noise of the Encroachments made upon your Country, by your Kings; and we were always of Opinion, that no Nation in the World was more uneasy and impatient under those Encroachments, than the English People. I need not tell you, that the very Name of your Two last Kings was become Odious to all Germany, both to the Roman Catholicks and Lutherans; for instead of keeping the Ballance equal between France and Spain, and Us, they by leaning to the French side, in spite of all the Instances made them by Foreign Ministers, may  
be



be justly said to be the Cause of all the Miseries brought upon Europe, by the French Arms and Intrigues; yet our Kindness and Concern for the English Nation, was never the less, because we perswaded our selves that the Conduct of your King was far contrary to your own Inclinations, and that you were as much real Enemies to the growing Greatness of France, as we our selves. And that which remov'd all sort of Jealousy of your Nation, in Point of French Friendship, was the measures taken by those Two Kings, and especially the last of 'em, in Conjunction with the French King, and conformable to Measures given him by that Court, to enslave the English, and introduce the Religion of Rome, notwithstanding all your Laws to the contrary. My Lord, You know that the late Descent made into that Kingdom, by your present King, the then Prince of Orange, was the Effect of the Consultations of most of the Protestant Princes of Germany, and of the States of Holland, who unanimously laid hold of the Addresses and Importunities of the Noblemen and Gentry of England, made to the Prince of Orange, as an Occasion to deliver your Nation from the Miseries they groan'd under; and at the same time to secure themselves from the Dangers the Friendship betwixt your King, and the French King threatned them with; and upon the good or bad Success of that Undertaking, we look'd upon the Happiness or Ruin of the Protestant Interest to depend. I have many Reasons to admire to what Constellation this late murmuring Humour in England, owes its Rise; for sure I am, and I speak it from my own proper Knowledge,  
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the English were mightily impatient of King James's Reign; and at most of the Courts in this Part of Christendom, they found ways to express their Troubles with the Greatest Intreaties for Help: And both You and I know, that His then Royal Highness of the P. Orange, was so far from being fond of the Employment he was put upon, notwithstanding his own Honour and Interest call'd him to it, that he resisted the Importunities of your Country-Men for a considerable Time, and would not be perswaded to an Attempt upon England, till it was again and again told him, and he had all the Reason in the World to believe it, That the whole Protestants of England were earnest for his coming, and would assist him in the Action, with their Lives and Estates. My Lord, I hope your Goodness will pardon me to tell you, That if any thing were capable to give me a mean Opinion of your Nation, this would do it; to see a People that made such a Noise through all Europe of their Miseries and Oppressions, to loath a Deliverance that cost them so little; But the Acquaintance I have had of your Nation both here, and when I had the Honour of a Publick Character at London, gives me Ground to think the Number of those Murmurers cannot be great; and tho' you are pleas'd to call them Protestants, I must presume to say of them, That they are either such in Mask, or those that can change their Religion when it suits with their Interest ——— I have done, when I have told you that this sort of murmuring will put you out of any Hope of the least Assistance from any of the Protestant Powers or States Abroad, in Time coming, in case  
you

*you bring your selves to a too late Repemance. For none will concern themselves for a People that have been so base and ungrateful to their Benefactors, and who have so ill requited an Action that merited the best Resentments.*

This Letter says Dr. *Wellwood*, “ Gives  
 “ us a Hint of the Character we are like  
 “ to bring on our selves, among our  
 “ Neighbouring Nations, upon the Ac-  
 “ count of this odd Piece of our *Mur-*  
 “ *muring Folly*, and helps us to see how  
 “ little we may hope for from them,  
 “ whenever our Unreasonable Jealousies  
 “ and Mistakes shall render us again  
 “ Miserable.” There was hardly any  
 Nation in *Europe*, *Popish* or *Protestant*, ex-  
 cept the *French*, who did not highly extol  
 our Courage in *England*, in asserting our  
 Liberty, and our Happiness in accom-  
 plishing it. A Person of Quality Abroad,  
 wrote to a Man of Worth and Learning  
 in *England*, a Year after the Abdicating  
 of King *James*. *Is it really true, what some*  
*People write from England, That there any*  
*Protestants among you dissatisfy'd with the late*  
*Revolution in that Kingdom, and with your*  
*present Settlement.* So hard it was to per-  
 swade the Nations about us, that we  
 could possibly sink to such a Degree of  
 Infatuation, as but to wish a Change in  
 our present Condition. The Court of  
*Rome*, who one would think, was most  
 concern'd of any, to espouse King *James's*  
 Quarrel, abandon'd it; and the Em-  
 peror; the Kings of *Spain*, *Sweden* and  
 Den-

*Denmark*; the Republick of *Holland*, *Venice* and *Switzerland*; in a word all the Potentates and People of *Europe*, except the *French King*, and the Duke of *Modena* wish'd well to our *Revolution* and Settlement, in which they were not themselves unconcern'd, their Liberties depending in a great Measure on ours. Of this Disposition of Foreigners towards us, as far as it relates to the Assistance they gave us, something has been said in the preceding Pages.

I shall now see what they thought of our Abdicated King at *Rome*. The Cardinal *D'Este*, Brother to the D. of *Modena*, and our late Queen *Mary* of *St. Germans*, who had the Quality of Protector of our Nation, and was at that time in the *French Interest*, tho' he has since laid by that and the Purple, and as Duke of *Modena*, has been as Zealous for the Common Cause, and has suffer'd and gain'd as much by it, as any Prince of his Rank in *Christendom*. This Cardinal, soon after the *Revolution*, demanded Audience of the Pope on that Occasion, but was put off from time to time, and at last requir'd to give a Memorial of the Subject Matter of the Audience he desir'd. Accordingly the following one was deliver'd to Pope *Odescalchi*.

THE Bad Circumstances of his Britannick Majesty, and of the Catholicks in England, oblig'd him humbly to entreat His Holiness to endeavour an Union of all Catholick



Catholick Princes, for the Restauration of his Britannick Majesty; and in the mean time, he had it in Command from the King, to beg His Holiness to take into his Fatherly Protection and Tendernefs, The Most Christian King, whose Zeal to propagate the Catholick Religion, has so signally appear'd, and upon whose Protection and Assistance, King James did most rely, for the Recovery of his Kingdoms.

It was a Week before the Cardinal had any Answer to the Memorial, and then instead of being admitted to Audience, he was refer'd to the Master of the Sacred Palace, who was order'd to attend His Eminence at the Palace Pamphilio, where he publickly made him the following Speech.

**H**IS Holiness has Commanded me to wait upon your Eminence, and in his Name to tell you, That his Holiness, as the Common Father of Christendom, is much afflicted with the present bad Circumstances of his Dearest Son his Britannick Majesty, and the rather, that his Misfortunes have been both sudden and unexpected. But he Commands me likewise to tell you, That he looks upon that inseparable Conjunction betwixt that King, and the King of France, and the Measures he received by him from the French Court, to have been the True Source of the King of Britain's Miseries; especially considering the People of England were ever naturally inclinable to suspect their King's Friendship with France, as tending to infringe their Liberties, and subject them

them to a French sort of Government, whereof they are so impatient. I am Commanded in the Third Place to tell your Eminence, that it is his Holiness's Opinion, That the Incroachments of the King of France upon the Empire, and Territories of the Catholick King, together with his undutiful Carriage to the Holy See, in Point of the Franchises, has been the Occasion of the Princes of the Empire, the King of Sweden, and the Hollanders entring into a Defensive and Offensive League, and of the Prince of Orange's bold Attempt upon England; so that the Breaches of Europe, and the Ruin of his Britannick Majesty, and of the Catholick Religion of those Kingdoms, now in Possession of the Prince of Orange, must lye at the Door of, and be imputed to the King of France. His Holiness Commands me in the Fourth Place, to tell your Eminence, that in respect of this long War with the Turks, and the Continuation of it by the Instigation of the King of France, His Holiness has expended vast Sums of Money, and is oblig'd to expend as much more as he can possibly spare; and is likewise oblig'd to fortify his own Territories, and keep more Forces on Foot than Ordinary: For which Reason, it is utterly impossible for His Holiness to assist his Britannick Majesty with any Money at this Juncture. I am Commanded likewise to tell your Eminence in the last Place, that for certain Important and Weighty Reasons, His Holiness cannot allow neither your Eminence, nor his Eminence the Cardinal D'Estrees, Publick or Private Audience.

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Nor

Nor was this the single Opinion of Pope *Innocent XI.* but of the whole Court of *Rome*, before the *French King's* Successes and Bribes had given them other Views and Projects. For on that Pope's Death, the *Conclave* appear'd to have the very same Sentiments, when the Cardinal *D'Estrees* apply'd to his Brethren in the Name of the *French King*, and told them his Master would renounce all Pretensions to the Franchises, and restore the Country of *Avignon* to the succeeding Pope, if each Cardinal at his Entrance into the *Conclave*, would promise, that in case he was chosen Pope, he would do his utmost to procure a Peace between *France* and the Catholick Princes in Alliance against her; and after that, endeavour to engage them to espouse King *James's* Quarrel, in order to reinstate him in his Throne. The Cardinals answer'd him for the most part, as Cardinal *Altieri*, one of the then Candidates for the Papacy, did, with great Coldness. That he was very desirous that there should be a good Understanding between all Catholick Princes, but he was afraid the *French King's* Encroachments upon his Neighbours, had render'd the Breach too wide; that it was impossible to make it up in haste, altho' the King of *France* was Sincere in his Design, as he much doubted; yet he himself, and most of the Cardinals, had Reason to know, that King *James* ow'd his Ruin to the Measures he had taken with the *French King*; and that a War on Account of Religion, would not relish well at this Juncture,

*Juncture, especially considering that the present King of England was in the strictest Alliance with the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Elector of Bavaria, the Elector Palatine, and a great many of the Catholick Princes, whose Honour and Interest will oblige them to keep him their Friend, as being best able to assist them against France, both in the Quality of King of England, and Stadtholder of the United Provinces. He added, That the above-nam'd Princes had no Reason to promote the Interest of a King, whose constant Adherence to the French side, had given them so many Grounds of Jealousy, and been in Part the Cause of so much Trouble to Christendom. I flatter my self, that the Curious, who will not have many Opportunities of meeting with these Passages, they having never been shewn to the World but in loose Papers, and that so long ago as the Revolution; to which they relate, will be pleas'd to find them here; especially since they shew us what Opinion the Roman Court had of K. James's Folly, in adhering to the French King, and of the Justice of his Nation in dealing with him as they did for it. Four Months after this Discourse between the Cardinals Altieri and D'Estrees, the Late Abdicated King sent his Trusty Servant the Lord Melfort to Rome, in Quality of his Ambassador, which was like the rest of King James's Conduct; that Lord having the ill Fortune to have been spoken of there before, as one of the greatest Occasions of his Masters Fall. In the discharge of this Trust, the Am-*



ambassador committed an Error, which did not at all forward his Affairs ; for out of Affection to the *French* Interest, he could not help waiting on the Cardinals of that Faction, before he paid his Visit to the Cardinal *Nephews*, which gave great Disgust to the Court. When he demanded Audience, he was desir'd to let those Cardinals know his Errand, and was made to stay several Days before he obtain'd Admittance to the Pope's Presence ; no Body sending their Coaches to Honour his Audience, but the *French* Ambassador, the Cardinal of *Modena*, and the Abbot *Croissi*. I shall not insert the Earl of *Melfort's* Speech at length, it would take up too much room, and the Contents of it may be easily guess'd. He tells the Pope, *His Master had an Army in Ireland, of Might enough to recover his Kingdoms, was it not for the Confederacy against the Most Christian King and Him ;* which proves that we were Principals in the First Grand Alliance, contrary to the Notion advanc'd lately by the *Faction* that succeeded the *Murmurers*, of whom we have been speaking. The Allies came in therefore as Seconds, and the Second Alliance being founded on the First ; a Pretender ready to Usurp the Late King's Throne, and to follow his Measures, we were certainly as much Principals in that as the former Confederacy, and in the Glorious War that follow'd it, which I suppose by this time is ended in a Peace ten times more Glorious, as will be prov'd by so many Able Pens,

Pens, that I shall not undertake it. The Earl of *Melfort*, among other Reasons to prevail upon the Pope to assist King *James* with his Purse against King *William*, uses this mighty Argument, by which one may have a good *Idea* of the wonderful Abilities of King *James* and his Ministers, that His Holiness ought to lend his Money, because a P. of *Orange* formerly took *Rome* and the Pope; and if it was in his Power, this Prince of *Orange* would follow his Predecessor's Footsteps, but Pope *Ottoboni* had rather give what he could scrape together to his Nephews, and return'd this short Answer, affecting an Indisposition. That he was troubled at the Division among Catholick Princes, that he would leave no Stone unturn'd to reconcile them; which however he thought it was no easie thing to effect, considering Provocations. That as to Money, he was but new come to the Holy Chair, and his Predecessor had left none in the Treasury. And for any thing he had further to say to the Ambassador, he had given Order to his Nephew, and Cardinal *Altiert*, to confer with him. Thus far we have the Sentiments of the Pope, and Court of *Rome*, which were confirm'd by those of the *Italian* Nation at that Juncture, as may be seen in a Book written by Father *Vernatti*, then a Member of the Council *De Perpaganda fide*, Printed at *Venice*, Entituled *Il Teatro aperto*; wherein, after he has express'd himself with sufficient Zeal for the Union of Catholick Princes, against our Heretick King and his Kingdoms; he writes thus rea-

sonably and impartially, "I can never persuade my self that all the Assistance the Most Christian King can lend King *James* will be sufficient to re-establish him in spite of the Opposition will be made by the *English* People, whose Zeal to a false Religion they have suck'd in with their Milk, renders them irreconcilable Enemies to a Prince, whom they know to be a just Abhorrer of it, and to have design'd the Extirpation of it out of his Kingdoms.

"We have Reason enough to know, that none are more tenacious of their Doctrines than the Hereticks are, and though the Most Christian King one way or another has rooted out Heresy, or rather the open Profession of it in his own Kingdom, yet the vast Number of *French* who have abandon'd their Country upon the account of Heresy, and the constant Complaints of the *Catholick* Clergy of *France*, that the new Converted (as they call them) are still Hereticks in their Hearts, do prove sufficiently, that it is next to Impossibility to root out that Poyson in Minds once tainted with it. Likewise we need not spare to say, if the *French Hugonots* had been but equal in Number and Power to the *Catholicks*, all the Attempts of the Most Christian King had been in vain. But setting aside the Case of the *French*, it is not to be imagin'd, that the *English* who for more than an Age have been used to the  
 "sweet-

“sweetness of enjoying the Revenues once  
“paid out of that Kingdom to the Holy  
“Church, and have had Heresy establish’d  
“and confirmed to them by reiterated  
“Laws, and who have had inculcated into  
“them by their Priests an Abhorrence of  
“the Usurpations of the See of *Rome*, as  
“they Blasphemously call the just Autho-  
“rity and Superiority *St. Peter* has over  
“them and their Country. It is not to be  
“imagin’d, I say, that such People will  
“ever be subjected to a Prince of another  
“Religion, whom they have thrown off at  
“the greatest Hazard, especially having  
“now for their Head a Prince of their  
“own Religion, and whom they call’d in-  
“to their Assistance against the Attempts  
“made by the other to bring them into the  
“Bosom of the Church. And indeed, ac-  
“cording to their own Principles it was  
“Madness for them to do otherwise.

Here’s one of the most Bigotted Enemies of our Primitive Apostolick Church, and one who lays aside much of the *Italian* Politeness, to express his ill Opinion of us through his Book, even this Man, I say, is pleas’d to have a better Character of some of our Religion than they deserve since they are really guilty of that Madness, which he is unwilling to charge them with. It is strange, that we only should be insensible of the Blessing all the rest of *Europe* thought we enjoy’d, in having a King of our own Religion; yet now at the end of almost Twenty four Years we are as mad as ever, and seem impatient to run through the same Perils again, though



we are to despair of a Deliverer, if ever we want one. What Happiness we are possess'd of in the enjoyment of Liberty, our Neighbours all around us see with Envy, and the wisest of them, though they live under Tyrannies that make the explaining of their Sentiments of the last Danger, yet they cannot help speaking of our Felicity with Rapture.

To this purpose is what Mr. John Hampden wrote in a Tract he publish'd in 1692, that discoursing ten Years before at Paris with the famous Historian Mezeray about the Difference of the Government in France and England, he broke out into these Expressions with Transport, *O Fortunatos nimium, bona si sua norint, Angligenas! We had once in France the same Happiness and the same Privileges which you have. Our Laws were made by Representatives of our own chusing. Our Money was not taken from us but by our own Consent. Our Kings were subject to the Rules of Law and Reason, but now alas! we are are Miserable, and all is lost. Think nothing, Sir, too dear to maintain these Precious Advantages, and if ever there be Occasion, venture your Life, your Estate, and all you have, rather than submit to the miserable Condition to which you see us reduc'd. It is not such Frenchmen as this we are affraid of. And 'tis only such Men as Mr. Hampden that will meet with such Lessons from their French Friends. Men of Arbitrary Principles hear other Doctrine, the Glory of the Monarchy, the Service of the Crown, the Obedience of the Subject not reasonable*

able and legal, but unlimited and unconditional. The worst *Englishmen* will always find out the worst *Frenchmen*, and then Vanity and Arrogance are the best Qualities they learn of them.

Of all the Foreigners, either Protestants or Papists, that spoke of the Change in *England*; I mean that in 1688, he who was most fit to write for King *James* and his Cause was Father *Marthe*, who wrote in Vindication of the repealing the Edict of *Nants*; and he does it admirably, by proving from our abdicating that King, that *Antichrist* is in *England*, and that here the Beast with the seven Heads and ten Horns has his principal Seat, which he sets forth with equal Strength of Reason and Truth, in a Book he calls, *Entretiens touchant l'Enterprise du Prince d'Orange sur l'Angleterre ou l'on prove que ce le Action fait porter aux Protestants les Caracteres d'Antichristianisme, &c.* It was printed at *Paris*, about November 1689, by the French King's own Approbation, Licens'd by one of his own Ministers, and written by his own Pensioner. It is exactly of a Piece with the noble Works of a certain Faction with us, the Author being set to work to impose upon Mankind the Belief of any thing how false soever, if it but seems to make for himself or derogate from those whom he has forced to be his Enemies, which is the Account given of him by a Man of great Worth of our own Country.

Having enquir'd into the Conduct of those Men, after King *James* was settled  
on

on the Throne, and the Opinion Foreigners had of their *Murmurs* and the Prince for whom they pretended to be concern'd, I shall now see how that Prince behav'd himself after his Abdication; what signs of Amendment there appear'd in him; what Hope the Protestants of these Kingdoms might thence conceive of their faring better under him; what Reasons the Church had to wish for his Return, or an *Englishman* to believe he had learn'd any thing good in *France*: Because if the Father, who knew so much of the Temper of the *English*, and had suffer'd so much for his Adherence to *Popery* and *France*, could not Counterfeit a Regret for past Miscarriages, but took hold of all Occasions to shew these Nations they could never take him again, without the loss of their Religion and Liberties, what is to be expected from the pretended Son, who knows nothing of our Temper or Constitution, having never yet seen an *Englishman*, nor heard of us but as of so many Hereticks and Rebels, whom to chastise, as the *French* King does his *Hugonots*, would be Meritorious to God and Honourable to himself, to revenge the Affronts put upon his Father, his Mother, and the rest of the Banish'd Family.

In the Paper King *James* left at *Rocheſter*, he could not help recommending his Papists to the care of the Parliament, that they might be put on the same Foot with other *Englishmen*, a Privilege it is not thought fit  
to

to allow those Protestant Dissenters, who contributed as much to the Safety of the Church as her own Sons, their Number and Opportunities being compar'd together. After he was gone, in the Letter he wrote the Conventions of *England* and *Scotland*, He said he had not given any Cause of Complaint : And being Conscious of no Crime, there could consequently be no Conversion, but a full Resentment of the Injustice done him, and a Resolution to make them pay dearly for the Usage he had met with, as he made appear sufficiently when he was in *Ireland*. He continu'd the Earl of *Milfort* in the Office of chief Minister for the Management of his small Affairs, and prefer'd his Councils to the Earl of *Middleton's*, which were more moderate and more *British*. In *Ireland* he was surrounded by *French* Ministers ; the Count d'*Avaux* under the Character of Ambassador, was indeed Governor of that Kingdom for the *French* King, and the same Fate would the other Parts of the *British* Monarchy have, if ever a *French* Power prevail'd there, whatever Title the Pretender might for a while be allow'd to wear : King *James's* Generals were *French*, his Treasurer *French*, and even his Domestick Servants *French*. He had such an Aversion to the *English* Interest, that he could not hide it, and tho good Policy oblig'd him to dissemble, when the Lord *Mountjoy* came to *France* to him from *Ireland*, on the security of his  
his



his Lord Lieutenant's Word, and indeed on his Message, he had him thrown into Prison, and kept many Years in great Restraint and Misery, purely because he was a Protestant and a Friend to *England*, in whose Quarrel he afterwards sacrific'd his Life in *Flanders*. As soon as that King arriv'd at *Dublin*, the *Irish Popish Bishops and Clergy*, as Bishop *Tyrrel*, Dr. *Moor*, and others advis'd him to consider his Catholic Subjects of that Kingdom for all their Sufferings, and to restore 'em the Churches and Possessions usurp'd from them by the *English*, and Monsieur d'*Avaux* at his Publick Audience, desir'd him, in his Master's Name, to shew distinguishing Marks of his Favour to his Popish Subjects. Immediately all the Protestants who had Employments, were commanded to lay them down. Not one of that Religion was allow'd to sit in Council or bear Arms. The Lord *Grenard*, the Lord Chief Justice *Keating*, who had gone great Lengths in *Tyrconnel's* Time, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Thomas Newcomen*, Collonel *Russel*, &c. were set aside, and none permitted to hold any Place but Papists. Nay, so negligent was the King of any Body who did not turn Apostate, and quit the Church of *England*, that the worthless Bishop of *Chester*, who had serv'd him in the *Ecclesiastical Commission*, and other such illegal Services, dy'd at *Dublin* so miserably Poor, that he wanted Necessaries, and being Dead, was bury'd at the Charge of a Protestant Prelate.

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The Protestants, who had liv'd like a Conquer'd People, expos'd to all the Violence of Soldiers and Robbers, hop'd that out of Discretion, the King would have protected them; and he told them indeed he would do what he could for them, but they receiv'd neither Satisfaction nor Justice. To give an Instance of the Treatment, the Protestants met with from the Papists, the Lord *Gallmoy* had in the North most barbarously cut off a Gentleman's Head, and made the Son carry it on a Pike in Triumph before his Regiment. Upon Complaint of this, he could not help seeming displeas'd with it, as he was with *Jessery's* Cruelties in the *West*: However the Lord *Gallmoy*, the very next Day after the Complaint, carry'd the Sword before him to *Mafs*. When the Bishop of *Meath* with a Body of Protestant Clergy-men, waited on his Majesty, the Bishop address'd himself to him thus,

May it please your Majesty,

**T**HE Clergy of the City of Dublin with several of the Rural Clergy that are retir'd from this Country for safety attend your Majesty to Congratulate your Arrival in this Kingdom, and do humbly implore your Royal Protection to them, their Church and Religion, desiring that from Time to Time they may be admitted to make just Complaints of those Injuries they have receiv'd.

The

The King's Answer was,

**T**HAT he would protect all Men in their Religion and Properties, and as for the Wrongs that had lately been suffer'd by several, 'twas impossible in these Times of Commotion but such would happen, but he should, as far as he could prevent and redress them. However, continues he, if I am invaded in this Kingdom, as I have been in England, I must secure my self as well as I can.

One of these Clergy-men talking with an Irish Lord, who came from France with the King, and was a Man of the best Sense among them, said, He hop'd now the King was come, he would protect his Protestants and redress them in those Injuries they had of late groan'd under, and not only so, but that his Majesty would be more than ordinary kind and favourable to them, in letting them share with his other Subjects the Employments both Civil and Military, that being the most probable Method for gaining on his Protestants of England, by whose means he must expect, if ever, to be resettled on his Throne. The Lord reply'd, That his Majesty was Naturally Merciful and Compassionate, and would, as far as he could, prevent all Injuries to any of his Subjects. But as to doing this with the design you mention, or for trusting his Protestants, I assure you 'tis far from his Thoughts. Both he and we had rather he should hazard and lose forty Crowns than be oblig'd to his Protestants for the Possession of his Kingdom. He can never expect to  
come

come in by those means, unless tyed and fetter'd with Conditions, which he cannot, nor shall not observe to them. 'Tis by the Force of the Arms of his good Catholicks, and by Assistance from the Glorious Monarch of France, that he designs to regain his Dominions, and then he comes in free and boundless, like an absolute Conqueror, and shall afterwards do what he pleases.

The Irish Protestants were in such hopes of being reliev'd by King James's Presence, that they comply'd with the Popish Government to the full Extent of *Passive-Obedience*, till they despair'd of any Redress of their Grievances, and saw nothing but Ruin and Death before them. Ten Days after King James's Arrival, there was a Proclamation publish'd, of Pardon for those of the *Sligo* Protestants who laid down their Arms and submitted to the Irish General, with Exceptions to the Earl of *Mount-Alexander*, the Lord Viscount *Massareen*, the Lord *Kingston*, *Clotworthy Sherington Esq;*, Sir *Robert Colvil*, Sir *Arthur Rowden*, Sir *John Magil*, and several other Protestant Gentlemen, which was sign'd by the Lord *Granard*, Sir *Thomas Newcomen*, and other Protestants, and is a Proof, that King James acted by French and Irish Councils, and had no just Reason to dispossess the Protestants of their Employments and Offices. Their Loyalty continuing till they found it would be of no Service to them if they did not renounce their Religion. What Usage the People of *England* and *Scotland* might



might have expected from him, appears by a Proclamation he himself publish'd against the Scots Convention about a Month after he came to *Dublin*, which wills and requires all his good Subjects to the uttermost of their Power to rise in Arms, assault, attack and destroy them, their Assisters and Abettors, and to take and apprehend them, and bring them to Condign Punishment; their Estates, Goods, and Possessions to seize and employ for him or their Subsistence in his Service. And for whatever shall happen in prosecution of this his Will and Pleasure, this shall be to them, and to all others concerned a sufficient Warrant, Authority and Command; and for all Bloodshed, Slaughter, Mutilation, Fire-raising, or other Damage done to these Rebels. Yet at the same time he publish'd a sort of Declaration, wherein is this Expression, *That in Ireland the Defence of his Protestant Subjects had been his Especial Care.* Witness the Acts he past in his pretended Parliament, which he call'd as soon as he came to *Dublin*, to destroy the Protestant Religion and Interest there by an Appearance of Law, as the Act for attainting of High Treason Two thousand four hundred of the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and Commonalty, among whom were the present Dukes of *Ormond* and *Buckingham*, there being several English Lords and Gentlemen who had Estates in *Ireland* included in that Bloody Bill.

An Act for repealing the Act of Settlement, and restoring old Proprietors.

An Act for taking off Penal Laws and Tests.

An

An Act for taking off all Writs of Error and Appeals in England.

An Act for taking of Valuation Money and other Rights from the Clergy.

An Act for the Independency of Ireland upon England.

An Act for repealing Poynings Act.

Which Bills and several others of the like Tendency, shewing his Majesty's *Especial Care* of the Protestants and their Religion, met with such dispatch, that in a Month or six Weeks time all this was done, and their Estates seiz'd.

It would be too tedious to enter into the Detail of the Horrid Cruelties and Ravages committed on the Protestants of *Ireland* after King *James* came thither. Neither his Royal Word nor the Protection they got from his Generals were sufficient security, the *Irish* murder'd and destroy'd at Pleasure, and the Credulity of such as trusted to Popish Promises was a Jest to the Papists, to instance in that *Hamilton* who betray'd Mr. *Temple*, and was upon his coming to *Ireland* made General of the *Irish* Army, I have seen this Coppy of a Protection granted by him.

I Richard Hamilton, Lieutenant General of his Majesty's Forces in Ulster, do hereby receive into his Majesty's Protection the Body and Goods of James Hunter of Ballymenagh, in the County of Antrim, Yeoman, and do promise and oblige myself, that none of  
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*the Army shall molest or hurt him, or take any thing from him.*

Given under my Hand at the Camp,  
March 27. 1689.

Richard Hamilton.

The poor Protected Man thinking himself safe in this Paper, returns to his House, which he had left, and follows his Labour; but presently down came the *Irish* upon him, and swept all before them. *Hunter* makes his Address to his Protector and receives this cold Comfort, *I did promise to protect you from the Army that none of them should offer you any Violence, but I have no Power to restrain the Rabble.* It may be objected, that these are things could not be help'd. They were not of his doing, it is true, but they durst not have been done, had it not been with his Permission, and to let the Reader see he did himself what was as bad as any of his *Irish* Officers could do, we need only relate the Story of *Monf. Roussel*, a Person of great Fame for his Learning and Integrity, who being Minister of *Montpelier* in *France*, when by the *French King's* Edict that Church was demolish'd, was from a Principle of Zeal for his Religion, and at the desire of his People perswaded to preach in the Night time upon the *Ruines of his Church* to some thousands of wretched Protestants his late Flock, for which he was in his Absence condemn'd by the Super-Intendant of *Languedoc* to be broke Alive upon the Wheel,

Wheel, which Sentence was put in Execution as far as it could be, by hanging him in Effigy, and the most strict Search was made for him through the whole Province. After a thousand Hazards, this Learned Divine got out of *France*, and became Minister of the *French Church* at *Dublin*.

While King *James* was in *England*, he affected a Charitable Disposition towards the *French Refugees*, knowing it would be Popular; but being got into *Ireland* among his *French* and *Irish* Counsellors he had no longer any Temptation to disguise his Natural Temper, and his hatred of the Reformed Religion, which render'd him guilty of an Action his Friends could not excuse from the Imputation of the greatest Cruelty and Breach of Honour; for instead of Protecting a Stranger that had fled his own Country for doing his Duty, and discharging his Conscience, and upon the Security of Law had settled himself in another, he deliver'd up this Reverend Exile, who liv'd Peaceably under his Government, to the Count d' *Avaux*, who sent him in Chains to *France*, to suffer the terrible Punishment to which he was adjudg'd by his Inhumane Persecutors. Nor was this all, for two or three Months before he was driven from *Ireland*, a great number of Protestants of the Province of *Munster*, of all Ranks and Ages were seiz'd by the *French*, forc'd Aboard their Fleet, carry'd to *France*, and there thrown into Dungeons.



After he was expell'd that Kingdom, and return'd to *France*, he form'd a Court at *St. Germain en laye*, where the Protestants, who had left every thing to follow his Fortunes, were frown'd upon and neglected. His chief Domesticks were all Catholicks, as will be seen by the following List, one or two only excepted.

The Duke of *Powis*, Lord Chamberlain,  
 Collonel *Porter*, Vice-Chamberlain,  
 Collonel *Skelton*, Comptroller,  
 The Earl of *Dunbarton*, } Lords of the  
 The Earl of *Abercome*, } Bed-Chamber.

Capt. *Macdonald* }  
 Capt. *Beadles*, } Grooms of the Bed-  
 Capt. *Stafford*, } Chamber.  
 Capt. *Trevanion*, }

*Fergus Graham*, Esq; Privy Purse,  
*Edward Sheldon*, Esq;  
 — *Sheldon*, Esq;

Sir *John Sparrow*, }  
 Mr. *Strickland*, ViceCham- } Of the Board  
 berlain to the Queen, } of Green-  
 cloth.

Mr. *Brown*, Brother to the Lord Vis-  
 count *Mountacute*, Secretary of State  
 for *England*.

Sir *Richard Neagle*, Secretary of State  
 for *Ireland*.

Father *Innes*, President of the *Scots*  
 College at *Paris*, Secretary of State for  
*Scotland*.

*John Caryl* Esq;, Secretary to the Queen.  
 — *Stafford* Esq;, formerly Envoy in  
*Spain*.

These

These five were his *Junto*, his Cabinet Counsellors, the Earl of *Melfort* being sent to *Rome*, 'not so much in hopes of getting Money from the Pope, as to please the *Irish*, who at that time had monopoliz'd the King's Favour; his Expectation from their Assistance being greater than from both of the other Kingdoms. After the Reduction of *Ireland* and the Suppression of the Rebellion in *Scotland*, many Gentlemen who had not quite abandon'd their Religion, and still call'd themselves Protestants, fled to his Court and form'd a sort of Party there which was soon check'd and abolish'd. The first Tryal they made of their Interest in King *James*, and King *James's* in the *French* King, was to desire a Chapple for the Exercise of their Worship according to the Church of *England*, proposing Dr. *Granville*, the Earl of *Bath's* Brother, as a fit Person to be their Chaplain, he having left his Deanery of *Durham*, out of a mistaken Principle of Loyalty. This Affair happen'd much about the time of the dispersing a Book call'd the *Project of Peace*, written by a Person whom the *French* Resident at *Geneva* set to work, and after it was written he sent it to Madam *Maintenon*, who read it to the *French* King, and he having made several Alterations in it, gave Directions for its being printed and dispers'd over *Europe*.

In this *Project* he offer'd to give up King *James's* Pretensions on the foolish Condition of engaging Christian Princes

in another Croisade conquer the Kingdom of *Jerusalem*. He comply'd so far as to consent that the *French* Protestants should enjoy the same Liberty in *France* the Papiſts did in *Holland*; and to amuse those of the Reform'd Religion at *St. Germain's*, who at that time Petition'd for a Chappel, the two Kings in *France* seem'd to hearken to it. However King *James* appear'd more averſe to it than King *Lewis* himself, the latter having his own Interests chiefly in View, did not mind what his Abdicated Brother represented to him, *That it was not now worth his while to carry it fair to the Protestants, and that he could never recover his Kingdoms, but by the Help of the Catholics.*

He was so averſe to granting this small Favour to his Church of *England* Subjects, that they were forc'd to send a Gentleman from *St. Germain's* to *London*, to treat with the Party there, and particularly with Dr. *Turner* Bishop of *Ely*, to engage him to represent the Matter as of *Absolute Necessity* for putting a fair Gloss on King *James's* Intentions towards his Protestant Subjects, whenever they should return to his Obedience: And they had need of all their Perswasions, for the late Queen *Mary* was not only against allowing this Chappel, but in a Passion told the King her Husband publicly at Dinner, *He would provoke Heaven yet more against him, by tollerating that Heresy in France, which for being tollerated in England had ruin'd him there.* At last the Bishop of *Ely's* Letter in the Name of the

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*Non-jurors* and their Abettors here prevail'd on that Court, and Father *Innes* was employ'd to solicit the Affair at that of *Versailles*. It was referr'd to Monsieur *Louvois*, the Archbishop of *Paris*, and Father *La Chaise* for form sake. The *French* Court resolving at first to take hold of that Opportunity, to make *the Project* take the better. The Countenance the Proposal met with was such, that the Chappel was look'd upon by the People of *St. Germain*s as already granted. The Bishop of *Ely* and the rest of the Faction thought they had gain'd a great Point, Orders were hourly expected for building the House, and in the meantime for converting an Apartment in the Palace to that use. But the *Project* meeting with universal Dislike and Contempt, the *French* King thinking it would do no good to keep longer fair with the Hereticks, came into his Brother King *James's* Sentiments, and a Chappel was positively refus'd. In consequence of which, Dr. *Granville* was oblig'd not only to retire from the Court, but also from the Town of *St. Germain*s, to avoid the daily Insults of the Priests, and the dreadful Effects of the Jealousies with which they possess King *James's* Courtiers against him. The only Protestant Divine that remain'd there, was Dr. *Gordon* a *Scotch* Bishop, who met with a worse Treatment than the other, and was reduc'd to the necessity of Abjuring his Religion for Bread, with which he could not be supply'd but upon those



hard Terms. The King being at last sensible that this Behaviour of his to good *Church-men*, might prejudice his Interest in *Britain*, resolv'd to prevent the coming of any Protestant Divines to *St. Germans*, and therefore sent Major *Scot* and Mr. *Macqueen* to *England*, to let his Friends know he desir'd no such Company, and order'd them to make use of other Messengers. The Affairs of State, as has been said, were mang'd by a Cabinet Council, consisting of Mr. *Brown*, Father *Innes*, Sir *Richard Neagle*, Mr. *Caryl*, and Mr. *Stafford*, all Papists. When the Church of *England* Men saw they could not carry the Point of the Chappel, they made a second Effort to procure, that at least one of the five might be of their own Religion; they insisted on the Advantages which might thence redound to his Majesty's Affairs in *Britain*, and earnestly recommended Sir *Edward Herbert*, as a Person well qualify'd to advise as to *English* Affairs. The Reasons they gave for it were so strong, that to prevent their succeeding, the Comptroller *Skelton* and Sir *William Sharp* accus'd Sir *Edward* of saying, *King James's violent Temper would ruin himself and all that follow'd him*, which Words Sir *Edward Herbert* frankly confess'd, but made so Ingenious an Explanation of his Meaning in relation to the Act of Settlement in *Ireland*, that King *James* was satisfy'd.

This enrag'd the *Irish* Party in the Court still more, and they contriv'd another Plot against him, charging him with Correspondence

dence with the *English*, and misrepresenting the Actions of that Court; upon which he and an *English* Lady were confin'd, and *Bromfield* a *Quaker-Refugee* at *St. Germain's* sent to the *Bastile*. Sir *Edward's* Misfortunes did not put an end to those of the Protestants with their Abdicated King. Mr. *Cockburn* a *Scotch* Gentleman, who had follow'd that Prince to *Ireland*, and was taken at Sea after the Battel of the *Boyne*, being sent Prisoner to *London*, on a Proposal of exchanging him for Captain *St. Lo*, then Prisoner in *France*, he was enlarg'd. During his stay at *London* he so ingratiated himself with the *Non-jurors*, that he was recommended by them to King *James*, as a very proper Person to serve him in Matters of the greatest Importance. When he arriv'd at *St. Germain's*, he told the King his Friends in *England* were of Opinion, that things would never go well as long as the Earl of *Melfort*, who was then return'd from *Rome*, had a Hand in them, and that the best way to procure the Affection of his *British* Subjects would be to employ Protestants. This was the Instruction he had from the Party in *England*, and for this Mr. *Cockburn* a few Days after his Arrival, was commanded by the *French* Court to leave *France* under severe Penalties, which being forc'd to do, he liv'd afterwards in Poverty in *Holland* and *Hamburgh*.

The Submission of the *Scotch Highlanders* affords us more convincing Proofs of King *James's* Hatred to the Protestant Religion,  
and

and his Ingratitude to such who had sacrific'd their all to support his sinking Fortune in *Scotland*. The Earl of *Dumferling*, the Viscount *Dundee*, Son of him who was kill'd, the Lord *Dunkel*, Collonel *Canon*, Collonel *Graham*, and several other Protestants who had forfeited their Estates, retir'd into *France*, as did also Collonel *Buchan*, Collonel *Maxwel*, Collonel *Wauchope* and some other Popish Gentlemen; but when they came to *St. Germain's*, the Papists were immediately prefer'd to considerable Posts both in the *French* and *Irish* Armies, while the Protestants, tho' their Merit was greater, were expos'd to all imaginable Hardships and Contempts. The Earl of *Dumferling* and Collonel *Canon* are too illustrious Examples of King *James's* Inveteracy against the Protestant Religion, and Ingratitude to Protestants, to be here past by. The Earl through a false Notion of Loyalty and Honour, had left his Noble Family and large Fortune to follow that Prince in his Exile; yet happening to quarrel at *St. Germain's* with one Captain *Brown* a Papist, about a Trifle, the Captain was encourag'd and countenanc'd in it by the Court, and made Commander of a Company of *Scotch* Reformed Officers in *Catalonia*, while my Lord liv'd in Contempt, purely on account of his Religion, which ill Treatment broke his Heart, and he sunk under the weight of his hard Fate at *St. Germain's*. He was deny'd Christian Burial after he was dead, and his Friends were forc'd to hide his Corps

Corps in a Chamber, till an Opportunity was found of digging a Hole in the Fields in the Night, in which they were glad to deposite it, for fear of worse Usage. Colonel Canon's Sufferings are equal to the Earls; He was General of King James's Army in Scotland, and serv'd him so faithfully, every Body expected he would be rewarded with some Great Command upon his Arrival at *St. Germain's*; but he positively refusing to abandon the little Religion he had, was reduc'd to the scandalous Allowance of Half a Crown a Day, while *Papists* who had serv'd him, were prefer'd to good Posts. This unhappy Gentleman finding himself thus neglected, took it so much to Heart, that he Dy'd of Grief and Want, having taken the Sacrament from the Hands of Doctor *Granville*, two Days before his Death; but a Priest who would not stir from him when he was Dying, thrust a Wafer down his Throat when he was Speechless; and to have the Merit of his Conversion, gave out he Dy'd a Catholick, which got him the Favour of Burial, or his Corps had far'd as did the Earl of *Dumferlings*.

I am satisfy'd the little Passages relating to the History of the Court of *St. Germain's*, of which we know so little, must be as entertaining to the Reader, as they were to me, or I should not have repeated them. They Paint in Lively Colours, the Gratitude of a Court, which too many of us are more fond of now 'tis at the lowest Ebb of its Fortune, than when the  
Con-



Conspiracies of the Murmurers in *England*, and the Success of the *French* Arms, made their Condition not quite so desperate. We see by this, what are the Sentiments the Late Queen has Educated Her *Pretended Son* in of us and our Church, and how vain it is for any Good Church-Man, tho' a Thousand *French* Oaths were on their side, to flatter themselves that a Prince thus bred, can be Kind to a Church, which has never been represented to him but as a Nursery of Heresy and Rebellion. There remains two or three Instances more, of the Conduct of the *Abdicated Court* towards Protestants, which the Curious cannot but be diverted with, tho' they had no such Concern upon them, as gave Occasion to this *History*.

It is well known that Sir *James Montgomery* was indefatigable in his Endeavours, to re-establish King *James* in *Scotland*, by the same Parliament that declar'd him to have forfeited his Right. He was after that for several Years, his most Active Minister in *England*; He wrote and publish'd that Declaration in his Name, which was to have attended the *La Hogue* Invasion, and afterwards another Treasonable Pamphlet, Entitul'd, *Britain's Just Complaints*. In a word, he was his constant Champion on all Occasions, always drawing his Pen in his Quarrel, and ready always to do the same with his Sword: Yet this very Sir *James Montgomery*, who had done such great things, and run such hazard

hazard for him, being oblig'd to fly to *France*, having escap'd from a Messenger, could not obtain any Share in that Prince's good Graces, meerly because he was a *Staunch Church-Man*. He was Brow-beaten by the Court Priests, upbraided every Day with having been once in the Prince of *Orange's* Interest, and at last forc'd to retire to *Paris*, where he dy'd neglected, with the Melancholly Reflection of the miserable State he had brought himself into. Nor was it only enough to be a Protestant, to acquire the Displeasure of the *St. Germans* Court, to shew the least Inclination to the *British* Constitution, and preserving the Liberties of the People, was as sure a way to Disgrace, as the Earl of *Lauderdale* a Papist, found to his Cost. 'Tis true his Lady was of the Reform'd Religion, and that added to his Guilt, which was his being an Enemy to the King's Violent Measures. For this reason he never was trusted with any Post. As much a *Catholick* as he was, he heartily advis'd King *James* to let the Protestants have the Administration of his small Government; recommending the Earl of *C——n* and the Nonjuring Bishops as the fittest to serve him in *England*, and the Lord *Hume*, *Southesk* and *Sinclair*, in *Scotland*; but his Advice was so ill taken, that he was enjoyn'd to send his Lady to *England*, to return thence no more; was himself forbid the Court, and reduc'd to a Pension of 100 Pistoles a Year. Not long after, he dy'd of Grief at *Paris*, seeing

ing no Probability of his Master's changing his Measures. His Brother, Mr. *Alexander Maitland*, had on several Occasions behav'd himself very bravely in that Prince's Service; he had also deserted King *William's*, under whom he had a Command once in the *Scots* Guards, but coming to *St. Germain's*, and being suffer'd to starve, he chose rather to make his Peace with an Offended Government, than live in the Contempt of an ungrateful one. Of this kind, was the Treatment Sir *Andrew Forrester* met with; that Gentleman was always zealously attach'd to the Duke of *York's* Interest when a Subject, and when a King; he was the Devoted Creature of his Pleasure; he was Imprison'd in this *Tower*, for the Plot that was carrying on to favour his Invasion 1692. Yet notwithstanding this, and the great Experience he had in *Scottish* Affairs, he could never obtain any share in that Prince's Confidence. Upon his Arrival at *St. Germain's*, he found that all his Merits and Sufferings were not a Counterballance to the Objection of his being a Protestant. He was not intrusted, and after a vain Attendance on that Court, for some Trifling Employment, the best Reward he could get, was a Pass to return to *England*, they having no occasion of him there. Sir *Theophilus Oglethorp*, who had been very serviceable to the Duke of *York*, before his Accession to the Throne, who by means of his Wife, a Servant to one of King *Charles's* Popish Mistresses, had the Honour

Honour of being made one of the Tools to advance *Arbitrary Power* in that King's Time, who had shewn himself so Zealous for the Father, that he forgot good Manners, and affronted the Daughter by *Cocking* as She came by, when Queen, in the *Mall*; who had been in every Plot since his Old Master went to *France*, to facilitate his Return; yet his Usage was so little answerable to his Desert and Expectation, that he was glad to get Home to *Old England*, and submit to that Government, whose Lenity to such Offenders, increas'd their Number. Mr. *Fergus Grahme*, Brother to Coll. *Grahme*, as well as to the Lord *Preston*, who was Condemn'd for Treason against King *William*, for no other Reason but his being a Church-Man, was dismiss'd the Court of *St. Germaines*. Sir *William Sharp*, tho' he pretended to leave that Court, to save his Estate, pursuant to an Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, yet in Truth it was their Ingratitude to him, which occasion'd it; for falling under Distrust with *Melfort* and *Innes*, he grew into Contempt: His Pension allow'd him while the *Scots* Rebellion lasted, was taken from him, and because he would not quit his Religion, he was forc'd to quit *France*, and throw himself on the Mercy of his Lawful Sovereigns. The Usage of Dr. *Cockburn*, a *Scots* Divine, is beyond any thing that can be imagin'd; He was banish'd *Scotland* for Treasonable Practices, and forc'd to fly from *England*, for writing Libels against the



the State. He thought to have found an Asylum at *St. Germans*, if not a Recompence; but instead of this, he was perpetually teased by the Priests to change his Religion, and when they could not prevail, they represented him as a dangerous Person, and got him sent from *France*, whence he retir'd to *Holland*, and there Liv'd in Want and Misery. Mrs. *Ashton*, whose Husband was Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd, for Plotting against *K. William*, might, one would think, have expected more Favour; but as soon as She came to *St. Germans*, Priests were sent to tell her, that nothing but being a *Roman Catholick*, could recommend a Woman to the Queen's Service, which the Unfortunate Widow declining to do, no Notice was taken of her; and She Dying of Grief, was refus'd Burial, till her Father, Mr. *Rigby*, of *Covent-Garden*, as an Act of Special Grace, and at great Charge, obtain'd Leave to have Her Body brought over into *England*. What need of any more Instances, to prove King *James's* Incurable Aversion to our Church, and all Church-Men; else I might Name the Lord *Henmore*, Mr. *Louthian*, Capt. *Murray*, Capt. *Dalgel*, Capt. *Maygil*, Capt. *Maclean*, Capt. *Fielding*, Mr. *Kinnaird*, and several Hundreds more, who left the Court of *St. Germans*, because they could not have Bread, unless they would change their Religion; and rather chose to run the Hazard of Imprisonment in *England*, than stay and starve in *France*. The Earl  
of

of *Middleton* having the greatest Interest of any of King *James's* Followers in the Friends they left here, the King carry'd it the most kindly to him, and seem'd to have some Confidence in him. However, he was never Prime Minister as *Melfort* was, nor had any Concern in the Management of Affairs between *Versailles* and *St. Germain's*, that being done by *Innes* and *Porter*. He was seldom call'd to Council, and the *French* Court never depended on his Correspondence. He always declar'd against restoring King *James* by a *French* Power, wisely and honestly considering, that it would be to reduce *Britain* to the State of being a Province to *France*: For which he so incurr'd the Displeasure of that Court, that he was at last abridg'd of his Pension; and to gain a sorry Subsistence, oblig'd to abandon that Religion, which had till then, been the occasion of his Misfortunes. The worst of it all was, his Conversion was never thought Sincere, and he could not get above 500 Crowns Yearly for his Maintenance. A Poor Bargain he made, and his Unhappy Life and Death shew what those may expect, who place their Hopes in the Establishment of *Popery* and *Tyranny*, the sure Companions of the *Pretender*.

It may perhaps be objected, that from King *James's* Behaviour to the Protestants at *St. Germain's*, it is not reasonable to conclude, he would not have been more kind to them, had he been his own Master; but being himself a Refugee in *France*, and

having nothing else to live upon but the *French* King's Pension, he could not do otherwise, for fear of giving Offence to his *Great Protector*. Now that this Carriage of his was agreeable to his Temper, and his Invincible Hatred to the Protestant Religion and Liberty, may be seen by his Declarations Publish'd in *France*, upon his design'd Invasions of *England*: The most remarkable of that kind, was the Papers dispers'd about, when he lay ready to Embark at *La Hogue*, and had brought over a *French* Army to Conquer us, had not Admiral *Russel* prevented it, by beating the *French* Fleet. In that Paper, he owns no Illegalities in the whole Course of his Reign: The only thing he appeals to, is the Justice of his Cause, for he says, *He does not think himself oblig'd to say any thing more on this Occasion, than that he comes to assert his own Just Right.* He did not think fit to offer the least Satisfaction for the Faults committed by him in his past Conduct, nor to give Hopes of better for the future. He restor'd the *London*, and other Charters; He dissolv'd the Ecclesiastical Commission Court; He annull'd the Proceedings against *Magdalen* College, but would never own those Proceedings were unlawful; He would never renounce his Dispensing Power. In his Behaviour upon, and after the *Revolution*, all his Actions shew'd he was resolv'd not to Govern us according to our Constitution, but to Erect a Despotick Government; and this Resolution

no

no Suffering, no Disgrace cou'd Break.  
He was the same at *St. Germain's*, as at  
*Whitehal*; and indeed it had been a Won-  
der, if the Advice and Instruction of the  
*French King* had made him better. His  
Love to the *True Sons of the Church*, appears  
in the List of the Persons he excepted from  
Pardon, and doom'd to Gibbets and Scaf-  
folds, as these particularly now Living,

|                             |                              |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Duke of <i>Ormond</i> ,     | Marq. of <i>Carmarthen</i> , |
| Duke of <i>Leeds</i> ,      | Bishop of <i>London</i> ,    |
| Earl of <i>Nottingham</i> , | Sir <i>John Worden</i> ,     |
| Earl <i>Rivers</i> ,        | Sir <i>Stephen Fox</i> , &c. |
| Earl of <i>Clarendon</i> ,  |                              |

Not to mention the Duke of *Bolton* the  
Earl of *Sunderland*, the Earl of *Bath*, the  
Bishop of *St. Asaph*, the Earl of *Warring-  
ton*, the present Duke of *Bolton*, the Bish-  
op of *Worcester*, the Duke of *Marlborough*,  
Sir *James Oxenden*, Sir *Charles Duncomb*,  
and others, as well Living as Dead, who  
were destin'd to Axes, had that Inva-  
sion succeeded; it not being in King  
*James's* Nature to be softned by good  
Fortune or bad; His Memory descend-  
ing to the Dregs of the People, when  
his Revenge was in view, witness his  
incerting *Edwards*, *Stapleton* and *Hunt*,  
who not knowing him, us'd him rough-  
ly when he was taken at *Feverham*. A  
Prince of this Disposition and Religion,  
must have made a rare King for *England*,  
and how we should be blest with his Pre-  
tended Heir, who never knew as the



Father had done, that in some Countries the Law is superior to the Prince, we may guess by these Instances of his Carriage to his *Protestant Friends*, who out of an excess of Loyalty, were willing to have Liv'd miserably with him, if he would but have done for them what he cou'd; which how he did, the preceeding *Pages* set forth.

The next and last Head of this Treatise, is the Behaviour of the *French Faction*, usurping the Name of the *True Church*, towards *K. William* and *Q. Mary*; their Plots against their Persons and Government; in which will be seen how much these Men value the Safety of our Church, and the Peace of the Kingdom; how much Conscience was concern'd, in their refusing to take the Oaths to a Prince, whom they would basely have Murther'd: What a Share the Love of their Country had in their Conspiracies, which tended all to betray it to *France*, where those Conspiracies were always either contriv'd or directed, that Court being so base, as to engage in the most Bloody of them, to carry on their own Ambitious Projects, as will be shewn in the sequel of this History. As soon as the Throne was declar'd vacant, and fill'd with *K. William*, some of the greatest Sticklers for the *Revolution*, fell off from those Principles, and espous'd those that had occasion'd it. The Clergy, I desire to be understood when I name them thus in General, to mean only the *Nonjurors* and their *Abettors*, as *Sach---l*, *Higg---s*, &c. began their Opposition to the

the Government, by writing against it, by raising a Foolish Distinction of *De Facto* and *De Jure*, by mocking God in their Pulpits, and praying for King *James* and his Queen *Mary*, using general Terms the *King* and *Queen*, when the Law enjoyn'd them to Name King *William* and Queen *Mary*; by making a Schism in the Church, and forming a New Liturgy. In which, among other such Holy Collects, is this, *Restore us again the Publick Worship of thy Name, the Reverend Administrations of thy Sacraments, raise up the former Government both in Church and State, that we may be no longer without King, without Priest, and without God in the World.* Their Prayer for King *James*, is of the same Spirit and Sanctity, and such as makes me hope, tho' it was made at *Lambeth*, that Arch-Bishop *Sancroft* had no hand in it, the Man being more a Christian in all the other Parts of his Life, than to consent to so Wicked a Profanation of the Church Service, as mingling these Horrid Execrations with Her Pure Worship. The Prayer is as follows.

**S**END forth thy Light and thy Truth, and let them preserve us. Protect and defend our Sovereign Lord the King. O prepare thy Loving Mercy and Faithfulness; that they may preserve him. Strengthen his Hands, and the Hands of all that are put in Authority under him, with Judgment and Justice, to cut off all such Workers of Iniquity, as turn Religion into Rebellion, and Faith into Faction, that they may

never prevail against us, or Triumph in the Ruin of thy Church among us. To this end, defend the King, bind up his Soul in the Bundle of Life, and let no Weapon form'd against him prosper. Be unto him a Helmet of Salvation, and a strong Tower of Defence against the Face of his Enemies. Let his Reign be Prosperous, and his Days many; make him glad according to the Days wherein thou hast afflicted him, and for the Years wherein thou hast made him suffer Adversity. Give him the Necks of his Enemies, and also every Day more and more the Hearts of his Subjects. As for those that are implacable, cloath them with Shame, but upon himself and his Posterity, let the Crown flourish.

About 10000 of this New Liturgy were Printed and disperst by the Faction; it was us'd daily in their Conventicles, and a great part of the Old Service, sometimes all, laid aside. By these detestable Means, were unthinking Wretches set against the Government, which they were taught was Usurpation, and the Constitution a Rebellion. The Hot Men of them were animated in the carrying on Designs to destroy it; Money was Levy'd to maintain a great many of King James's Officers who lurkt about London, to take hold of the first Opportunity of a Rising, which was thought to have offer'd with most Prospect of Success, in the Year 1690. when King William was going upon his Expedition into Ireland, and they were in expectation of a French Army to secure the Protestant Church of England, which

was

was pretended to be in as much Danger, as when *Sacheverel* was Condemn'd. Before His Majesty went for *Ireland*, one *Jones* was employ'd to Assassinate him, and that Assassin not being able to accomplish his Design in *England*, follow'd the King to *Ireland*, on the same Accurs'd Design, as appear'd by an intercepted Letter to the Late Queen *Mary* in *France*, from *Tyrconnel*, and other Letters found at *Dublin*, when that City was recover'd from the *Irish*. By whom this Villain was chiefly set to work to perpetrate so fatal a Blow, is not come to Light; but that he was to do it, and that *Tyrconnel* kept Correspondence about it with *France*, is too well known, by Letters under his own Hand, to need further Proof. It is certain *Tyrconnel*, and the *French* Generals, plac'd their last Hopes in that Assassin's Undertaking. In a Letter about that Time, intercepted from *Tyrconnel* at *Ardec*, to the Late Queen *Mary*, he gave her a very melancholly Account of their Affairs, tells Her, *The Enemy was 40000 strong, and furnish'd with all Things necessary. That the King* (meaning King *James*) *was for Fighting, but he himself was against it; and he concluded, That notwithstanding all Her Care of their Affairs, he had now no Hopes but in Jones's Negotiation.* The Conspirators sent a Memorial to the *French* King, to invite him to send a Fleet and Army to their Assistance, in the Name of the *Loyal and Distrest Subjects of England*, which being too long to be incerted here at length,



I shall only hint some Remarkable Passages of it. They themselves acknowledge the League between the *French King* and *King James*, where they tell *King Lewis*, *It is in your Royal Arms and Bounty we propose our Hope and Confidence, and expect to see our Lawful King, Your Antient Friend and Ally, restor'd to the Rightful Throne of his Ancestors, out of which, wicked Men have thrust him.* They go on with their Instances, by telling him how happily such an Enterprize would be then tim'd, and what he should do to effect it. *The Prince of Orange the Usurper*, says these Churchmen as they call'd themselves, *is just now on his Journey to Ireland, and bein' once arriv'd in that Kingdom, if your Majesty's Fleet were able to block up St. George's Channel, the Usurper's Army would certainly be Starv'd. His Regiments in England, serve more out of Necessity and Fear, than any Love to him; and those Forces so few, they are scarce able to keep the usual Guard. The English Fleet is so divided, they cannot this Year make a considerable Figure, Killigrew is in the Straits, Shovel in St. George's Channel, the Dutch Squadron not ready, the English Ships ill Mann'd, the Seamen discontented for want of Pay, &c.* It was said by the Faction, this Memorial was not Genuine, and good Reason they had to decry it, when the Nation had been so terribly alarm'd by the Success of the *French at Beachy-Head*; but it is most certain, that at that time, these very good Protestants did invite the Most Christian King to Invade these Kingdoms. The

*French*

*French*, who never car'd how they expos'd their Friends in *England*, it it answer'd their Ends, own'd publickly. The Sum of this Memorial was in all their Panegyricks on their King's great Victories by Sea and Land. There was scarce one of them but told him, *His Glorious and Invincible Arms, were the only Sanctuary of the Oppress'd English; that his Royal Ear had been open to the Groans and Cryes of that Nation, and he had now rais'd himself up to give them an Answer to their Prayers.* Monsieur De Mesme, a Councillor of State, and Nephew to the Count D' Avaux, says plainly, in an Oration pronounc'd before the Academy of *Paris*, *Even the English Hugonots themselves, tho' they know the Aversion our Royal Monarch has to their Religion, have address'd their Prayers to him, as the alone Sanctuary of the Oppress'd.* And the Cardinal De Bouillon, in a Memorial he deliver'd to the Court of *Rome*, concerning his Master the *French King's* Proceedings with the Duke of *Savoy*, very frankly told his Holiness, that *Lewis the Great* was Necessitated to demand Securities from the Duke of *Savoy*, that he might not leave a Gap open to his Enemies on that side, at a Time when he was to send so great a Part of his Force towards *Britain*, to which he was oblig'd, not only from the Alliance between Him and his Britannick Majesty, but likewise from the reiterated Prayers of that King's Subjects, of both Religions. Nor was this the only Imitation of the Faction they had drawn up for the *French King*; another Scheme was pro-

propos'd a few Months after, and Letters intercepted of Turner, Bish. of Ely's, wherein it was said, *He spoke in the Plural, because he wrote his Elder Brother's Sentiments as well as his own, and the rest of the Family.* Again, *Their Young Master has all their best Wishes,* and the extravagance of his Zeal is such at last, that it transports him to Atheism. *He is no more capable of Swerving from his Duty to the late Queen, than he is of renouncing his Hopes to Heaven.* This Scheme was to have been carry'd to France by Ashton, and the Lord Preston, who both receiv'd Sentence of Death for their Treason; the former when he was Executed, was pleas'd to declare, *He Dy'd in the Communion of the Church of England, according to whose Principles, and late much Esteem'd Doctrines, (tho' then unhappily exploded, he had regulated his Life, believing himself oblig'd by his Religion, to look upon his Rightful Lawful Prince, (whatever his Principles were, or his Practices might be) as God's Vicegerent, and accountable if Guilty of Male-Administration to God only, from whom he received his Power; and always believing it to be contrary to the Laws of God, the Church and the Realm, upon any Pretence whatsoever, to take up Arms against him; which Paragraph so agreeable to certain Address'es, and the 12th of Charles the Second, he crowns with this Solemn Attestation.*

*Let all the World take Notice in this Belief  
I Dye.*

He

He Dy'd in the Belief, that the Church of *England* Principles justify'd his carrying to *France*, a Treasonable Scheme and Project of an Invasion, in order to the deposing his Rightful and Lawful Sovereigns, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, and to the setting up an Arbitrary Popish Government, to the Destruction of our Religion and Liberties. This is the Foundation of all the Arguments urg'd by some Men at this time, against *Revolution Principles*; and if those Arguments form'd, as they are of Nonsense and Contradiction, go for any thing, Mr. *Ashton* was a Martyr, and King *William* an Usurper. The rest I leave to those Worthy Gentlemen to determine themselves; the Consequence is too Treasonable for my Pen, which has always been employ'd in asserting their Late Majesties King *William* and Queen *Mary's*, and Her Present Majesty Queen *Anne's* Rightful and Lawful Title to the Crown, as settled upon the Foot of the *Revolution*, in opposition to the Pretences of King *James*, and his Suppositious Heir. It is observable, that most of these Conspiracies were attended with an Assassination-Plot. That of the Invasion, and this of the Scheme, had that Black Incident in them; of the latter especially, an Ingenious and Learned Gentleman, wrote thus at the Time of its Discovery. "When we reflect upon the Horrid "Methods put in Practice by this Embroiler of *Christendom*, to rid himself of "those he fears, there are to be found in "all



“ all the Steps of an Illustrious Life,  
“ some brightest Rays of a Benign Provi-  
“ dence, that in a special manner watches  
“ over Kings. If a certain Great Man  
“ had not of late in their Majesties own  
“ hearing, given a Hint of a singular  
“ Piece of Villany, design’d against this  
“ Wonderful Life, I should not have  
“ ventur’d to have mention’d it here,  
“ tho’ acquainted with it before. Yet to  
“ the Cruel Infamy of the *Apollyon* of  
“ *Europe* be it said, that Sacred Life was  
“ in equal Hazard from the Cannon, and  
“ from the Poinard, and from a Poinard  
“ employ’d and paid by *France*. What  
“ all the Engines of Death were not able  
“ to do in the Field, was to be supply’d  
“ by the Hand of an Assassinate at Home.  
The Duke of *Lorraine* had been sent out of  
the World, by the Treacherous Practices  
of the same Prince, their Common Ene-  
my, and a like Attempt made on the Life  
of the King of *Poland*. I know the Lives  
of Kings and Princes are always thought  
to be taken off by Uncommon Means,  
and Poison is the Death that’s generally  
decreed them; but in this Case I’m afraid,  
there’s more than Suspicion; and from  
the Cruelty and Cowardice of the Man,  
there’s nothing so Base and Bloody, which  
I can’t believe of him. However, not  
to leave the *Reader* to my Belief only, I  
shall give him the very Words of the Au-  
thor I last mentioned on this Subject.  
“ If there be any Knowledge of Humane  
“ Affairs in another World, let the Manes  
of

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“ of the Illustrious Duke of *Lorrain*, rest  
“ satisfy’d with the approaching Revenge  
“ of a Prince his Friend, upon their Com-  
“ mon Enemy, that had doom’d them  
“ both, tho’ with different Success, to the  
“ same Dismal Fate. Again, Of all the  
“ Discoveries that ever was made, none  
“ has been laid open with greater Force  
“ of Demonstration, than that of a De-  
“ sign to Poison the present King of *Pol-  
“ land* not long ago. I would fain know  
“ how Monsieur *Peliffon* and Monsieur  
“ *Boileau* will manage themselves, when  
“ they come to that part of the History  
“ of *Lewis Le Grand*, and with what Co-  
“ lours they will varnish over this Master-  
“ Piece of Villany. How extraordinary  
“ a Part of his Panegyrick, must the Con-  
“ fession of the Great Treasurer of *Poland*  
“ make up, and how greatly must it tend  
“ to the Eternal Glory of the Invincible  
“ Monarch, to see the Annals of this  
“ Age, swell’d up with the *Orders, En-  
“ couragement* and *Plan* of Poisoning a King,  
“ not yet fully out of the *French* Interest,  
“ meerly least he should turn about to  
“ that of the Empire. It would be worth  
“ the while, to place on the other *Page*  
“ of the late Blasphemous Panegyricks  
“ upon *Lewis XIV.* the Confession of the  
“ Grand Treasurer of *Poland*, of his Se-  
“ cretary, and of the Apothecary be-  
“ longing to the *French* Ambassador, all  
“ of them concern’d in this *Poisoning Plot*,  
“ and all of them agreeing in their Testi-  
“ mony, That they were set to Work by the  
“ Emis-

“ *Emissaries of France.* How fine a Scene  
 “ of History must the Letters make us,  
 “ that were found in the Lodgings of  
 “ the Ambassador of *France* at *Warsaw*.  
 The Friendship between *K. William* and the  
 Duke of *Lorrain*, might probably be one  
 Motive of the Attempt against the Duke’s  
 Life, at the same Time that the King’s  
 was to be taken away by Treason. I am  
 so Conscious of the Charge of Credulity,  
 which may be brought against me, for  
 giving into the Common Jealousy of  
 Princes dying by Poison, that I shall say  
 nothing of my own, with relation to  
 the Death of the Duke of *Lorrain*, but  
 take a State of it from the worthy Au-  
 thor I last made use of, the same who in  
 his *Memoirs*, gives so fair a Representation  
 of the Case of King *Charles II.* as to his  
 being Poison’d, or Not Poison’d. I am not  
 Ignorant says he, of the famous Expression of  
 the Historian, That the sudden Deaths of  
 the Great, are always ready to be impu-  
 ted to Poison, But God forgive me, if I be  
 unjust to any Body, when I say it is my Opinion,  
 That the Duke of *Lorrain* was sent to his  
 Grave by Treachery. We all know a cer-  
 tain Power in Europe, that never hitherto  
 stuck at any thing to promote either its own In-  
 terest, or prejudice that of others. And a  
 Wise Council could not but know, that the Life  
 of this Prince was an Irresistable Barrier to  
 the growing Greatness of that Crown, and that  
 the very Terror of his Name was sufficient to  
 stun the Courage of its Forces, when call’d to  
 Fight against an Army that had so redoubled

a General at their Head ; tho' France had by Secret Practices, put a stop to the Career of so many Glories, acquir'd by this their irreconcilable Enemy, just at a Time when he was bringing Fire and Sword into the Heart of their Country, upon the Head of an Army glutted with Victories, it had been but of a Piece with their other Actions these Thirty Years past. And which is more, if they had not done it, I would have thought Lewis XIV. had committed the greatest of Mistakes, in his wonted Thread of Politicks, over and above the Time and Circumstances of this Prince's Death, which render it very Suspicious. There are two other Things remarkable about it, which do add mightily to the Suspicion. The first is this : That Illustrious Person, in one of the Two Letters he wrote to the Emperor the Day he Dy'd, gave a clear Hint of his Jealousy that he was Poison'd, in the following Expressions, which the Emperor has been pleas'd often to repeat in Publick. I am Dying, says the Duke of Lorraine, whether as a Just Tribute to Nature, or as a Sacrifice to the Ambitious and Unjust Designs of a Crown, that has always been an Enemy of my Family, I know not. It is known that the Death of the Duke of Lorraine was Printed abroad in several Parts of France, Two Weeks before it happen'd, and with almost the very same Circumstances that after attended it. Such a Previous Rumour of a Prince's Death, has been always esteem'd a Pregnant Ground of Foul Play done them. And in the Case before us, it has the greater Force, considering that in January last, an Eminent Minister of  
France



France was pleas'd to lay a Thousand Pistoles, that the Duke of Lorraine should never Head the Imperial Army another Year; and that at Strasburg, a Fortnight before his Death, there was an Astrological Scheme publickly expos'd in the Jesuits Schools, Calculating his Death to fall out within Three Weeks. I have a greater Value for the Learning of that Order, than to think they did really lay any Weight on Astrology, in so narrow a Point as Three Weeks Time, and am afraid this Prediction of the Stars, was of a Piece with that of the Jesuits of La Fleche, before the Murder of Henry IV. of France, who being question'd how they came to know of it before it was done, answer'd, They knew of it by the Rules of Astrology. Whereas it was afterwards known, that they had at least encouraged the Parricide Raviliac to the Act, and had given him Absolution before-hand. In a Letter I received a few Weeks ago from a Learned Person, that is Professor at Leipfick, He tells me, The Physitians sent by the Emperor to view that Prince's Body, found such Signs of Malignity in it, as nothing but Poison, cou'd in their Opinion, have produc'd. And after the Enumeration of the Symptoms, my Learned Friend adds, *Omnia hæc raro si unquam in uno Cadavere reperta, si non Supereminenti Veneni virulentia attribuenta sint.* All these rarely, or never have been found in any one Human Body, if they may not be attributed to a Supereminent Virulence of Poison. This Manner of treating the Duke of Lorraine, seems to me the less strange, if it be true what

we

we find asserted by several Authors of late, of unquestionable Veracity, with a Relation to a Design of Poisoning the present Emperor, about Sixteen Months ago. I would not Name it, if it had not made a considerable Noise at Vienna, and if the Emperor had not from his Ordinary Zeal to the Jesuit's Order, taken considerable Pains to crush the Report of it. But since I am not very Ambitious to be a Newsmonger, I refer the Reader to the full Account of this Affair, as it is written by one of the best Pens in Europe, in a Book I have left with the Stationer for that Purpose. Who was the Assassins that the Faction had hir'd to Murder his Majesty in England, the Author does not tell us, probably it was Parker, who was then employ'd by Monsieur Louvois, the French King's Prime Minister, and afterwards by his Son Monsieur Barbesieux, in the same Conspiracy with Monsieur Grandval, and other Assassins to Shoot the King in Flanders. The Story of which, is this, Monsieur Louvois left the Plan of this Inglorious Design in Writing, Seal'd up in his Cabinet, and his Son who succeeded him in the Ministry, carry'd it on by Grandval, Du Mont and Parker, empowering Grandval to promise Du Mont 20000 Livres of Estate, and a Knighthood of St. Lazar, himself being to be made a Duke, and to have an Estate proportionable, if the Blow succeeded. The manner in which the Assassination should be done, was concerted at a Meeting of all the Conspirators, as the Marquis De Barbesieux,

Madam *Maintenon*, Monsieur *Paperel*, Pay-Master General of the *French Army*, Monsieur *Grandval*, Monsieur *Du Mont*, and Collonel *Parker*. *Du Mont*, after having enter'd himself in the Confederate Army, was to take his Opportunity when His Majesty visited the Grand Guard, or the Lines, to Shoot him behind his Back, *Grandval* and *Parker* were upon a Previous Intimation to have a Body of Horse in readiness to rescue him, and bring him off. Accordingly *Du Mont* went to the Confederate Army in the Year 1691. and *Parker* and *Grandval* to the *French*, where they waited with Impatience at the Grand Guard, Night and Day, to hear from *Du Mont*, whose Heart failing him, he retir'd to the Court of *Hanover*. *Grandval* and *Parker* return'd to *Paris*, and are again set to work by *Barbesieux*, and the rest of the Conspirators, among whom, Monsieur *Chanlais*, Quarter-Master General to the *French Army*, then first appear'd, as also a new Assassin, engag'd by *Grandval*, Monsieur *Leesdale*, formerly a Horse-Officer in the States Service. *Du Mont* takes Courrge again at *Hanover*, and renews his Correspondence with *Grandval*; and New Instructions being given them, *Grandval*, *Leesdale* and *Parker*, to use the Words of *Grandval*'s Sentence, Sign'd by the Earl of *Athlone*, went to *St. Germans* on the 16th of April, 1692. to speak with the Late King *James* about the said Design, who had knowledge of it, and to take Leave of him before they began their Journey. *Grandval*

had

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had Audience of King James, the Late Queen being present, the King telling him Parker has given me an Account of the Business. If you and the other Officers do me this Service, you shall never want; and Parker, Grandval and Leesdale, entred into a Discourse about this Design. A Rendezvous was appointed at Uden, in the County of Ravensfeyn, where the Business was to be finally adjusted; but a Discovery of the Conspiracy being made by Leesdale; Grandval was seiz'd at Eyndhoven, beyond Antwerp; and Du Mont confess'd it all to the Duke of Zell, which ended in Grandval's full Confession to the Court Martial, consisting of

The Earl of *Athlone*, President.

Lieutenant General *Van Scravenmore*.

Lieutenant General *Talmash*.

The Marq. *De La Forest*

Monsieur *Van Weede*,

Count *Noyelles*,

Monsieur *Zobel*,

Collonel *Churchil*,

Collonel *Ramsfey*,

} Majors Gen.

} Brigad. Gen.

Who Condemn'd him to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd. It is remarkable, that this Assassination, as well as the rest, was to be follow'd by a French Invasion; and the Guilt of it therefore is to be shar'd by the whole Faction, who were apprehensive as Grandval told Leesdale, That the King of Great Britain was the only Obstacle to the French Kings Designs; which to remove,



move, the Courts of *France* and *St. Germans* enter'd into this Execrable Conspiracy; to which were Privy, besides the Ministers and Officers before-mention'd, the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, Monsieur *Bedal*, Envoy at *Hanover*, Monsieur *Rebenac*, both employ'd in the most difficult Embassies; Monsieur *Mureau*, Envoy from the King of *Poland* to the *States General*, a *French* Man, and probably the *French* King himself; for it is not likely such a Hellish Contrivance should be form'd by his Favourites and Ministers, without his Knowledge and Consent; or if it was, that they would all have continu'd in their wonted Favour and Employments. How the Faction was animated by their hopes of Success of this Plot, appears in the following Account of it Printed at that time. " At the same time that " *Grandval* and *Leesdale* took Journey " from *Paris* to *Flanders*, *Parker* came " over to *England*, we have all reason to " remember the great Hopes our Male- " contents express'd here at that Time, " and how sure they seem'd to be of some " *New Revolution*; so much Joy and Assurance were visible in their Countenances, as seem'd to proceed from a " fix'd Certainty they had of some mighty " Success, which they hop'd for in their " Affairs, and one could not possibly dive " into. It is true the *French* King was in " *Flanders*, and King *James* waiting the " first Opportunity of Wind and Tide, " to carry over his Army into *England*.

" But

“ But even all this could scarce make up  
“ more than a Probability, much less a  
“ certainty of Success. His Majesty was  
“ already on the other side, and his For-  
“ ces were drawing together from all  
“ Quarters, to oppose the *French*; our  
“ Fleet was at Sea, and a far braver one  
“ it was, then the *French* could possibly  
“ send out against us; Whence then could  
“ all this Confidence proceed? There must  
“ certainly be some other thing in it than  
“ we were then aware of. *Parker* com-  
“ ing over at that time, and his corres-  
“ ponding with his Friends here, carry  
“ with it a shrewd Suspicion of what we  
“ may reasonably judge was the Ground  
“ of all this Insolence of the Party. The  
expectation of the King's Murder, of his  
being basely Assassinated by the black  
Contrivance of a King, who durst not  
meet him in the Field. These are the  
Men who hold the Divinity of Crown'd  
Heads, and of the Doctrine of *Passive*  
*Obedience* and *Non Resistance*. This is the  
Faction that has always been crying up  
the Glory of the *French* Monarch, and the  
Generosity of his Principles. How he has  
shewn it, has been related, with respect  
to the Kings of *England* and *Poland*, and  
the Duke of *Lorrain*. If the Dark History  
of his Reign was laid open, how many  
such Scenes would be expos'd, and fill  
every Christian Breast with Horror. For  
alas! All the Hellish Designs of the *French*  
Court, on the Lives of such as oppos'd  
them, were not so unsuccessful as this

of *Grandval*; and we may be sure that the Duke of *Lorrain* was not the only Prince who sell a Victim to their Treachery and Ambition. How different are the Proceedings of Men truly Great, from such as usurp that Name. True Glory scorns all such Ignoble ways of extending its Empire. 'Tis not thus that the Heroes of old vanquish'd their Enemies, nor is this the way to that Immortal Fame which is the Reward of Illustrious Actions. Yet *Lewis XIV.* assumes the Sirname of *Le Grand*, as if he had gain'd as many Victories as *Pompey*, or had an Empire as boundless as *Charlemagne*. That Greatness which does not consist in the Title only, is always accompany'd with Vertue, and a Vertuous Mind is incapable of consenting to any Councils that are not as Pure as they are Safe. Let us give some Instances of this Character in King *William*, and of the Return he made for the *French King's* Horrid Designs against his Life.

About the Year 1682. His Majesty, then Prince of *Orange*, receiv'd a Letter from an unknown Hand, who yet gave himself a Name, in which he offer'd to deliver *Europe* from all her Fears, by destroying the *French King*; he desir'd only a safe Refuge in *Holland*, and a small Subsistence, much less than he should leave behind him in *France*. The Answer to this Letter was to be left with the Post-Master's Wife at *Paris*, and a Week after he wrote a second to the same purpose. The first Letter came to his Highness at Night

Night at *Loo*, when Monsieur *Dyckvelt* happen'd to be with him. The Prince shew'd him the Letter, and desir'd him to go to the *Hague* immediately, and deliver it to Monsieur *D' Avaux*, then the *French* Ambassador to the *States*. Monsieur *Dyckvelt* made such haste, that he was with the Ambassador next Morning, and gave him the Letter, which he receiv'd with great acknowledgement of the Prince's Generosity, and sent it to *Paris*, as he did the second Letter also. The Post-Master's Wife being examin'd, said, That a Man had come several times to call for a Letter, but he not coming again, She was order'd to go about the City, and see if she could know him. Upon her Information that she believ'd she had found out the Person, a Man was seiz'd and Committed to the *Bastile*. He happen'd to be a Protestant, which no doubt made the Court of *France* like the Discovery the better: But when some of the Parliament came to examine him, and to confront him with the Woman, she, when she view'd him nearly, and heard him speak, own'd she was mistaken, and that he was not the Man; so after some time he was dismiss, and came to *Holland* upon the General Persecution of the Protestants. I have read of another Tryal of His Majesty's Generosity after he came to be King. An unknown Person writ to the Lord Bishop of S—— That he had a Proposition of great Consequence to make to his Majesty, if he



should have his Promise that he might do it safely. This the King allow'd the Bishop to do, and his Lordship writ to the Man by the same method he had given. When he came to him, he told him how long he had liv'd and serv'd at *Versailles*, how well he knew that Court, and at last he offer'd to kill the *French King*. At this the Bishop started up immediately, and said, *He thought His Majesty was too well known for any to dare to come with such a Proposition. He hop'd he himself had been also so well known, that none should have made it by him. Adding, He was sorry a Promise of Safety was given him, and bid him be gone out of his Sight.* When my Lord gave an Account of this next Day, the King thought he had carry'd the matter of the Promise too far, for no Promise was to be understood to relate to such Crimes, and therefore he wish'd the Bishop had secur'd him, ordering him, *To be sure to do it, if ever he could again set Eye on him.* I shall only add one Instance more of King *William's* Generous Carriage towards his Enemies, that would have done any thing, tho' of ever so wicked a Nature, to have rid themselves of him, they being afraid of nothing so much, as of his Courage, Wisdom and Vertue. And that is with relation to King *James*. When that Prince was in *Ireland*, a Proposition was made by one who had serv'd him and lov'd him, which he thought might put an end to the War; he sent it to the King by the same Prelate, the Bishop

Bishop of S ——— and it was this, That a Third Rate Ship well Mann'd, and well Commanded, might be sent to St. George's Channel, and that when they should come near *Dublin*, they should have Orders to declare for the Late King, and send him a Message about it, which he who made the Proposition, and was to go along in the Ship, said, he would himself carry, not doubting but upon that Invitation, King *James* would presently come Aboard, and then they should Sail away with him. But he added Two Things, the one was, That they should have Orders not to bring him to *England*, or to make him a Prisoner, but to carry him to some Port of *Spain* or *Italy*, and there set him Ashoar. The other was, That he should have 10000 Guineas consign'd in the Ship, to be given him in the Place where they should Land the King, that he might not be in too Naked a Condition. When his Majesty heard all this, he said, *It look'd very plausible, and he verily believ'd it would take, yet without taking Time to think of it, he said he would not meddle with it, he hated Tricks, and would be in none.* Besides, the Late King if he came Aboard, would bring some of his Guards with him, who without doubt, would offer at some Resistance, when they saw themselves caught, upon which a Disorder might arise, and the Seamen perhaps knock King *James* on the Head; wherefore he should go on in fair way, and trust  
to

to Providence, while he maintain'd his Integrity. These were the Methods King *William* pursu'd, while his Enemy the *French* King, more an Enemy to his Virtue, than to his Dignity, by Bribery, Treachery and Murder, rid himself of those he hated and fear'd. It may be wonder'd at, how *English Men*, who when *K. James* was destroying our Constitution, and overturning all our Laws and Liberties, would have given any thing for a *Deliverer*, should so soon forget their State of Despair, and wish for their Old Master again, whose Servitude had been the *Worst of Slaveries*; and how the *French* King cou'd meet with so many Friends in a Nation, that ever had an Abhorrence of *French* Friendship, but whoever considers the Politicks of that Court, and the Propensity there is in Corrupt Men, to make Gold their God, and Worship it as the *Jews* of Old did their *Calf*, will be at no loss to find out the Source of all the Factions and Conspiracies against King *William* and Queen *Mary*. I shall therefore shew the Reader some of the Most Christian King's ways of distributing his *Lewis's* in this Kingdom, as well as others, and the good Bargains he made by it. It is not to be imagin'd how the *French* King's Agents descended in their Briberies; they made use of the meanest Tools, and fix'd their Gold on Fellows, that never saw any before in their Lives: As I have read some where of the Traffick of the *French* Ambassador in

in K. *Charles's* Reign, who dealt even with Slaves to gain his Ends. His Master was then endeavouring to bring *England* to joyn with *France* against *Holland*, and gave his Money away very freely, where he had an Opportunity with the least Prospect of Success. Among others that had tasted of his Bounty, was a *Black* belonging to a Person of Quality, from whom this Story came, and in one of the most Servile Employments of his Family. The Ambassiador found a way to give this Boy Ten Guineas, only to get out of him what he heard the Servants of a higher Form, talk about a *Holland* War. This was the most that could be expected of him, for he was none of them that was ever admitted into his Master's Presence, his Business being in the Stable, out of which he was hardly ever seen. And if such a Fellow as that was thought worthy of a Purse of Gold, for setting us against the *Dutch*, What must those who were capable of accomplishing it merit? What Rewards had they for Services of that Importance? If a Man was seen one Year in Beggary, the next in Affluence, where is the Miracle? There was a certain great Favourite in King *Charles's* Court, who thought of a pretty Device to receive a great Sum of Money to serve the *French* Interest, and to do it with Decency. It must be own'd he was faithful to that Interest to the last, at the Expence of his Master's Honour, and the Safety of his Country. Whether the  
Sum



Sum was too great to be paid secretly, or whether he chose to let the World see a New Art of taking a Bribe openly without running the Hazard of being call'd in Question, true it is, that tho' he was very far from being a Gamester, he found means to put a vast Sum of Money in his Pocket, and it was no hard matter to do it, when the Gentleman that play'd with him, lost it willingly, and in concert with him that won it. On this Head a Man of Worth and Intelligence, wrote thus above Twenty Years ago.

“ This must be said for the Honour of  
“ one of the last Reigns, never People  
“ knew better to drain *France* of some of  
“ its Superfluous Metal. There is a cer-  
“ tain Gentleman in *England*, at this ve-  
“ ry Day, that has paid many Thousands  
“ of Pounds of the *French* King's Money,  
“ in order to enslave *England*; and which  
“ is strange, both Ignorant of the Persons  
“ to whom he paid it; and is notwith-  
“ standing a very Honest Man himself.  
“ But the manner of his paying it seem'd  
“ to be copied exactly from Cardinal  
“ *Richlieu's* Pattern. Being in the Ser-  
“ vice of a great Foreign Minister, the  
“ then Distributer of the Favours of  
“ *Lewis XIV*, He was sometimes charg'd  
“ with a greater, sometimes a lesser Bag  
“ of Money, according as People's dif-  
“ ferent Services deserv'd, but for the  
“ most part, *St. James's Park* was the  
“ Place where those Showers of Gold fell.  
“ It was to such, such a particular Tree as  
“ number'd

“ number’d in such a Row in the Park  
“ that this Gentleman was directed, and  
“ there he was, without speaking one  
“ single Word, to deliver such a particu-  
“ lar Purse of Money to a Man he should  
“ find in such or such a Posture, leaning  
“ against a Tree in such a particular Ha-  
“ bit, but always with his Face cover’d  
“ some way or other. And how near  
the Prince’s Person it self may be ap-  
proach’d on these Occasions, we may see  
by the History of Monsieur de Louvois the  
*French King’s* first Minister, of whom the  
same Author writes. *There is all the Reason*  
*in the World to believe Monsieur de Louvois*  
*transacted in Person several Intrigues at other*  
*Courts than that of Versailles, and that he was*  
*secretly disguis’d more than once within the Ca-*  
*binet of a Great Prince that shall be Nameless,*  
*some hundreds of Miles from Paris, when at*  
*the same time his Absence from Court was co-*  
*ver’d with the Pretence of taking Physick at his*  
*Country Retirement, or of some secret Service*  
*on the Frontiers.*

To what Party the *French* apply’d them-  
selves in *England*, I need not mention, and  
how successful they were, appear’d by the  
Losses and Disgraces of the last Reign.  
The following Account of these Mat-  
ters will set them in a true Light. It  
is taken out of a Dialogue address’d to  
King *William* in the Year 1692. and the  
Person who is introduc’d, speaking of the  
Faction that in all Times have been  
Friends to *France*, and consequently En-  
emies to *Holland*, says, “ Let us Examine  
“ then

“ then how Honourably, how Gratefully you have behav’d your selves to a  
“ King who has rely’d on you, and oblig’d you so extremely. We will pass  
“ by those who refuse to swear Allegiance to him on the before-mentioned  
“ honourable Pretences, and only treat  
“ of those who have accepted Employments of Profit and Trust. Have not  
“ even those in the Government both  
“ in *England* and *Scotland* been plotting the  
“ Dethroning this King, who has so generously trusted them, and courted them  
“ so kindly? Particularly did not one of  
“ your Party at the beginning of this  
“ Reign give Notice to the King’s Enemies of Warrants against them, in order  
“ to their making their Escape, and was discharg’d his Employment upon  
“ it? Did not a Brother of a certain Secretary give out Blank Passes under  
“ the Hand and Seal of that Secretary,  
“ by which a Correspondence was carry’d  
“ on between this Place and *France* securely? And was not this Gentleman  
“ on this Account laid aside gently and  
“ privately, and the Business hush’d up,  
“ for fear of any Reflection on our *Monarchical* Favourites, and put on the  
“ Publick as Passes forg’d, as indeed they  
“ were by our own Officers, and a lame  
“ Proclamation publish’d with Rewards  
“ to the Discoverer, but without a Pardon for Life when they knew the whole  
“ Matter before-hand? Have not some  
“ Women lately been taken going to  
“ *France*

" *France* with Letters to King *James*, ha-  
" ving a *Scotch* Secretary's Pass under his  
" Hand and Seal? Was not an Officer of  
" the Post-house found corresponding  
" with *France*, and without any other Pu-  
" nishment for his Capital Crime than  
" losing his Office? The Story of Cap-  
" tain *John Layton*, late Commander of  
" the *St. Albans*, which has been told in  
" the House of Commons, will shew you  
" how faithfully you *Tories* serve the Go-  
" vernment, and how fit you are to be  
" trusted, Captain *Layton* being order'd  
" to cruise twenty Leagues off *Ushant* was  
" driven by a Storm of Wind to Cape  
" *Clear*, where he met a *French* Privateer  
" and took her. The Captain of the  
" Privateer ask'd *Layton* the Name of his  
" Ship, which he told him; upon this look-  
" ing into his Pocket-Book, he demanded  
" of *Layton* how he came there, for by  
" his Intelligence the Station of the *St.*  
" *Albans* was to be twenty Leagues from  
" *Ushant* and no further.

" A like Story is told of a Transport  
" Ship going to *France* with Prisoners some  
" few Months since, who meeting with  
" several Privateers, ask'd them how they  
" durst be so bold as to cruise there when  
" four *English* Men of War were within six  
" Leagues of them. They reply'd, *They*  
" *knew the Station of those English, and that*  
" *they cou'd not come where they were cruising,*  
" *without breaking their Orders.* But the Re-  
" lation of the Sailor who was taken, and  
" for some time serv'd Aboard an *Irish*  
" *Priva-*



" Privateer, is yet more remarkable ;  
 " for he deposes, That they told him  
 " three Months before the *Straight's Fleet*  
 " sail'd from *Spithead*, both the time  
 " when they were to sail, and the num-  
 " ber of their Convoy, and that the  
 " main Fleet was to go no further than  
 " beyond *Ushant*. Now how could they  
 " come by this Intelligence but from Of-  
 " ficers employ'd by and sworn to the  
 " Government, I know not ; and if so,  
 " how faithfully and honourably you *Tories* serve  
 " those that trust you, and how fit you are to be  
 " employ'd in this Critical Time, I appeal to  
 " all the World.

I am not Ignorant that these Facts, at  
 least that of *Layton's*, is too well known  
 to deserve a Place in a *Secret History* ;  
 but we have too much reason to believe it  
 is forgotten, and though no Secret, yet  
 contemn'd as a Trifle, the effect of Ma-  
 lice, which was the occasion of my remem-  
 bring it here, and that there were some  
 who had been bred Fanaticks and Repub-  
 licans who then fell in with that Party, so  
 exclaim'd against in the above-mention'd  
 Dialogue, we may perceive by an Answer  
 from the other side. I must grant there is  
 something in what you say, *Union and Integrity*  
 will do great Matters, but you *Whigs* cannot  
 pretend to this. You are not two of you in the  
 same Mind ; you have no Government, no Dis-  
 cipline in your Party or Firmness to one ano-  
 ther in any Point. Your great P. F——y  
 turns Cadet, and carries Arms under the Ge-  
 neral of the West Saxons ; the two H——lys

Father

*Father and Son, are Engineers under the late Lieutenant of the Ordnance, and bomb any Bill which he has once resolv'd to reduce to Ashes, though it were for Recognition, or any thing else that is most necessary for our Security.*

Could all this be effected without *French Gold*? Could Men who three or four Years before had been in Arms to defend their Religion, Laws and Liberties, now give them up for nothing, and side with a *French Faction* to revenge only the loss of a Collonel's Commission, and for not being mounted from a Troop to a Regiment? Could People come out of a Conventicle to Vote for their Persecutors, if they had not known some of the *Ways and Means* we have been discoursing of, especially when their Circumstances were not so flourishing as to be above Temptation. And if such Men could so do, when we were Enemies to *France*, what would they have done had we been Friends? 'Tis most certain *France* did us most Mischief when we were at Peace with her, and when her Purse was fullest. If *Spain* and the *Indies* should ever be hers, as they would have been had not the Duke of *Anjou* renounc'd *France*, and thereby declar'd himself a true *Spaniard*? If she had the Mountains of *Mexico* and *Peru* at her Service, as she must have had, if that Monarchy had been at King *Lewis's* disposal, and we had not divided it from his own so infallibly as it is now done, what Work might there have been for his Distribution

V

tribution, when he had a Store not easily exhausted to go to, and when the Notion of Liberty is so sunk, that some People think it is hardly worth keeping? How these Men came to be employ'd in Revolution Reigns, has been before spoken of. The House of Commons soon after the Abdication, sent to King *William* to know who advis'd him to trust some of the Abdicated King's wicked Instruments, but they had Cunning enough to maintain their Ground, and disappoint all the Endeavours of the Friends of the Government to remove them. There is something so glaring in their wonderful Professions of Loyalty, that it cannot but take with Princes who are fond of Power. Mankind Naturally hate Opposition, and Obedience is the best Quality one can have to gain Favour in all Cases. Their constant Cry was the *Church*; their constant Boast the *service of the Crown*, tho when to serve the Crown, and to serve the Country are two different Things, I know what that Government and that Service must be, 'tis the same as the Earl of *Warrington* observes in his Charge to the Grand Jury of *Chester* in *April 1693*. *If then we ought to take care of our Liberty, how ridiculous is it to talk of serving the Crown, when by that is meant to make the King's Will and Pleasure the Measure of our Obedience? It must be a meer Nonsensical Boast to talk at that rate, when they have stript themselves of the Means of serving like Rational Creatures; for when Men have given up their Liberty,*  
*what*

what does all their Service to the Crown differ from that of a Beast. The Service that we do to our Prince should be like that which we render unto God, not a forc'd and constrain'd, but a free and reasonable Service. So that I think I may say, that he who hopes to recommend himself to his Prince's Favour by such a Piece of Service must needs be a very profligate Wretch, and believe his Prince to be altogether such a one as himself.

Whoever will compare the Cant of some late Addressees, the Fustian Flattery and Fiery Spirit they are full of with those in the Reigns of King Charles and King James II. cannot but pity the Folly of an Inconstant People, who weary of the Blessings they enjoy in a good Reign would perswade their Sovereign to pursue those Methods, which lost the Reputation of former Princes with the Affection of their People. It is our Happiness to have a Queen on the Throne who will not let us ruin our selves; who is as careful of our Liberties as of her own Prerogative, and the fulsome Complements of foolish Bigots are only a Jest on those that make them, and on the Party who fancy it is for their Purpose.

There would be nothing in all this but what is merry, were it not to see how Stupid such numbers of our Countrymen are, and how liable therefore to be led to their Destruction by Crafty and Ambitious Men, if ever it should be their ill Fortune to have a Prince of less Piety, less Moderation, and less Zeal for the Publick



Welfare of the Kingdom. This indeed is a Melancholly Reflection. It gives us little Hopes of preserving our precious Liberty, if it should hereafter be our Lot to fall into such Evil Times as those, from which King *William* deliver'd us. Those Evil Times can never return, unless we are so mad as to take a Popish King again, a Madness which would render us so very wretched, inasmuch as the whole World would think us not worth saving, that all the Comfort which could attend our Despair, would be to see those who were the Occasion of our Misery, involv'd in the same sad Fate, and repenting too late of the Practices which ended in the Ruin they themselves did not perhaps at first intend; but rather than not carry their Point, they will hazard every thing, having not Foresight nor Wisdom sufficient to prevent the mischievous Consequences of the Confusion they were the Cause of. Thus they go on from one rash Counsel to another, till they at last fall head-long from the Precipice to which they blindly run.

F I N I S.

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